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Department of Administration and Organization Theory

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Master's Thesis in Administration and Organizational Science

**Do Networks really work? Evaluating the Effectiveness of Governance Networks
in the context of Environmental Management: A Case Study of Two Ghanaian
Megaprojects**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADA – Asutifi District Assembly

AMA – Accra Metropolitan Assembly

CCG – Central Government Grants

CSOs – Civil Society Organizations

CWAs – Community Watch-dog Agencies

DAs – District Assemblies

DCEs – District Chief Executives

DDPO – District Development Planning Officer

EPA – Environmental Protection Agency

ESCR – Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

GACEED - Ga Mashie Centre for Education and Environmental Development

GAMADA – Ga Mashie Development Agency

GHAFUP – Ghana Federation of the Urban Poor

GRMA – Ghana Responsible Mining Alliance

GPRS – Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy

MMDAs – Metropolitan, Municipal, and District Assemblies

MDPO – Metro Development Planning Officer

MESTI – Ministry of Environment, Science, Technology, and Innovation

MoU – Memorandum of Understanding

MRHO – Metro Rural Housing Officer

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organizations

OCADA - Old Accra Conservation and Development Association

PD – People’s Dialogue on Human Settlements

PSUA - Participatory Slum Upgrading Agreement

PSUP – Participatory Slum Upgrading Project

SDI – Shack/Slum Dwellers International

UESP - Urban Environmental Sanitation Project

UPRP – Urban Poverty Reduction Project

USAID/Ghana – United States Agency for International Development, Ghana

WACAM – Wassa Communities Affected by Mining

WWDA – Wassa West District Assembly

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my **FAMILY** for their inspiration and support and to all **PERSONS** who contributed in diverse ways towards the success this project.

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ABSTRACT

In Ghana and elsewhere, large changes in environmental governance have occurred in recent years, moving from a hierarchical approach dominated by regulatory agencies to a more network-based approach including 'horizontal' contributions from multiple public and private stakeholders. This transformation as argued is resulted from the ineffectiveness of the hierarchical dominant-agency approach, particularly its weakness or lack of capacity in addressing a range of persistent environmental issues that require the co-ordination of multiple actors' and agencies as well as in-depth local knowledge about the problems. Such environmental issues included land or soil pollution, water quality planning, environmental protection of mining areas and slum growth (Sabatier et al. 2005: 3–6). Network-based approaches in recent decades have been increasingly adopted for solving these complex sets of interconnected environmental problems.

The main purpose of this study was to understand and evaluate the effectiveness of governance networks with the aim to identifying the conditions and mechanisms that affect successful governance process. The study was carried out in Ghana, which compared two megaprojects dealing with environmental issues. Five variables namely collaboration, participation, deliberations, horizontal accountability, and learning and adaption were identified from the network governance theoretical approach to affect network effectiveness. The study into the two cases relied primarily on qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. That is, data for answering the research questions were obtained from multiple sources including; face-to-face interviews with the main stakeholder groups involved or connected to each project, direct observations and documentary reviews. Analysis of the data collected from the fieldwork was guided by the Layder's adaptive analytic strategy. Hence, data collected from the field study was presented through analytical descriptions after transcribing the data into texts, the data was coded into analytical units where key responses were enumerated and thematic patterns mapped to facilitate a relationship between the data and the variables.

The study concludes that collaboration, participation, deliberations, accountability, and learning accounted for the relative effective governance process of PSUP and GRMA projects. These five conditions were found to be critical in embedding good processes in the projects for building sustainable results. The findings reveal these process factors are important in delivering effective foundation for achieving desired outcomes. In other words these key conditions examined here have to remain the bottom line and if network participants lose sight of these process factors, many experiments to deal with the problems will be judged a failure. This study has demonstrated that

governance networks are not just about social relationships, it is about making a difference (i.e. solving problems and improving programmes), and hence the capacity of networks to realize effective collaboration, participation, deliberation, accountability, and learning are critical for building sustainable results.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In Ghana and elsewhere, large changes in environmental governance have occurred in recent years, moving from a hierarchical approach dominated by regulatory agencies to a more network-based approach including ‘horizontal’ contributions from multiple public and private stakeholders. This transformation as argued is resulted from the ineffectiveness of the hierarchical dominant-agency approach, particularly its weakness or lack of capacity in addressing a range of persistent environmental issues that require the co-ordination of multiple actors’ and agencies as well as in-depth local knowledge about the problems. Such environmental issues included land or soil pollution, water quality planning, environmental protection of mining areas and slum growth (Sabatier et al. 2005: 3–6). Network-based approaches in recent decades have been increasingly adopted for solving these complex sets of interconnected environmental problems.

The main purpose this study was to understand and assess the effectiveness of governance networks as innovative platforms in addressing sets of interconnected environmental issues. The study was also aimed to identify the conditions and mechanisms may affect the so called network effectiveness in dealing with complex sets of interconnected environmental problems. A case study of two Ghanaian megaprojects involved in environmental sector of Ghana was used for the analysis. The main aim of comparing the two cases was to illuminate the variation in degrees of effectiveness between these projects to identify the procedural and institutional reasons for these variations in order to increase our knowledge about factors that determine their level of effectiveness. In doing so the study intends to provide an updated review of the conditions and mechanisms that affect governance network effectiveness.

This introductory chapter presents to the reader general background of the study. It also includes the description of the study problem, research questions, and significance of the study, scope and limitations of study. This chapter is divided into eight (8) sections as follows; the background to the study, statement of the research problem, this is followed with significance of the study, research questions, scope and limitations of the study, overview of theoretical framework, overview of research methods and the final section is organization of the thesis.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In the face of apparent failures to manage environmental issues through the hierarchy and market governance instrument, network has been proposed in recent years as innovative approach to address environmental issues. Governance network which basically refers to the bringing together of public, private and civil society actors to deliberate and negotiate for innovative solutions to complex societal problems has attained popularity and recognition the communities of environmental governance literature and the public policy discourses. In relation to delivering human services and addressing environmental issues at both local and regional levels, governance networks have been persistent in pursuing multiple strategies to resolve a number of these inter-connected complex problems (Sabatier et al, 2005). Several lines of reasoning as to why and how networks provide innovative platforms for addressing environmental issues have been identified in the literature.

Notably, from a transaction cost approach, governance networks are considered as an intermediate form of governance between markets and hierarchies, which allow actors to react flexibly to complex, inter-connected uncertain and changing environmental issues compared to hierarchies while being more reliable and stable than markets. Also, the creation and design of networks permits the different sources of competences and knowledge provided by the different participants to be integrated, especially when the network arrangement fosters efficient social learning and information sharing (Cross et al. 2004). That is, the shift to network-based governance has come about as a result of the dissatisfaction with both the traditional hierarchy dominant-agency and market approaches, which mostly lack the capacity for dealing with a range of persistent environmental problems that required the co-ordination of multiple stakeholders and which needed in-depth local knowledge.

Subsequently, there has been euphoric praise about the capacity and effectiveness of governance networks in addressing modern multi-faceted societal developmental problems. With the increased prominence and countless publications about this suppose effectiveness of governance networks, there has been little attention paid to understanding and assessing the actual performance of governance networks in literature (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009). The concern about governance network effectiveness has been raised over last couple of years, due in part to a series of highly publicized network failures (Jessop, 2002; Sørensen & Torfing, 2009: 236). Provan and Kenis emphasized that the assessment of the actual performance of governance networks has until now received very little empirical attention in the literature compared to the wealth of publications on

the effectiveness of single actors or groups of actors within networks (Provan and Kenis, 2007). Moreover, the conditions and mechanisms in which we can account for successful or failure in the governance process is under-researched, leaving the question of ‘what effectiveness is’ and the criteria to assess that effectiveness with regards to governance networks still open. This makes understanding what effectiveness means in relation governance networks and how to evaluate the actual performance of networks an important academic exercise to bridge the gap in the literature.

1.2 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

The underlying question in understanding and assessing governance networks effectiveness is whether they make a difference. In other words, does governance networks matter and do they make any difference in environmental management? If yes, how can effective governance network be determined, and what factors contribute to success and failure? It has been established that networks are more likely to be effective in policy settings where negotiated solutions among stakeholders are seen as appropriate and necessary, and thus where technical solutions are not possible. The capacity of governance networks as collaborative platforms for innovation in the environmental sector have been questioned. Bob Jessop for example has drawn our attention to the fact that governance networks can fail to deliver like bureaucratic and market instruments in addressing environmental issues (Jessop, 1998). Jessop emphasized that the growing attraction of governance networks as platforms for innovations to provide negotiated solutions to complex policy challenges has led many researchers and policy analysts to overlook the possible risks involved in substituting governance network for hierarchical or market failure and the resulting possible network failure (Jessop, 1998: 236).

Additionally, Robert Agranoff and Michael McGuire have emphasized the capacity of governance networks in bringing innovation in the public sector yet they highlighted the issue of collaborative ‘effectiveness’ which is fundamental but has been incompletely addressed (Robert Agranoff and Michael McGuire, 2003: 191). Klijn and Koppenjan (2004) also questioned the ‘effectiveness’ of governance networks. In their view only the positive picture of governance networks for their capacity to contribute to making public governance in policy settings characterized by vague and incomplete definition of problems, a multiplicity of social and political actors, conflicting policy objectives, the need for specialized knowledge, and a high risk of political antagonism have only been addressed (Ibid).

However, the biggest limitation in the governance network literature is the lack of adequate and clear understanding of what ‘effectiveness’ or ‘success’ means in relation to governance networks

performance. The problem is further compounded since networks bring to the table a diversity of stakeholder views and thus diverse perspectives about processes, goals, and outcomes. Hence, under these conditions of negotiated processes objectives, with complex causal pathways, evaluating the ‘effectiveness’ or success of governance networks becomes more problematic. Evaluating the ‘effectiveness’ of network-based governance arrangements is further complicated because programme and policy processes and change management have become more complex.

The deficits and limitations in empirical research on the problem have further given rise to much debate and many disagreements about what ‘effectiveness’ means in relation to governance networks and how to determine effective governance network. These limitations make evaluating ‘effectiveness’ of governance network an important research topic both to governments,’ policy analysts, and practitioners. The aim purpose of this research is to assess and examine the capacity of governance networks as innovative platforms for addressing complex policy issues with the view to identifying the mechanisms and factors responsible for success or failure.

1.3 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the research objective and the rationale of the study this present study attempted to answer the central research question;

What are the sources and mechanisms of governance network effectiveness?

In order to address this question, the following sub-questions were formulated;

- a. What are the conditions essential for possible cooperation in governance network?
- b. What kinds and levels of participation necessary for effective governance process?
- c. How and to what extent those better resourced and well placed participants such as elected officials and industry players influence the decision-making process?
- d. To what extent the decisions and policies that go on in PSUP and GRMA projects are made subject to accountability?
- e. How, when, and to what extent the stakeholders/participants can gather, analyze, learn on information on their progress in practice?

These research questions were empirically researched by means of evaluation case study of Participatory Slum Upgrading Project (PSUP) and Ghana Responsible Mining Alliance (GRMA) in Ghana. In assessing the effectiveness of the two selected projects, my analysis was mainly based on

stakeholders' perception on the performance and progress of the projects and the factors that contributed to the success or otherwise.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE/RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The assessment of the effectiveness of governance networks to identify the factors or conditions that account for the overall success or failure is necessary academic task since networks are often set up to create certain values for society hence the need to find out whether they contribute to fulfill these ambitions. My investigation into the effectiveness of governance network in building sustainable good collaborative process is relevant to public administration and policy theory for several reasons. First, PSUP and GRMA programmes are important example of collaborative networks designed to encourage cooperation among multiple stakeholders to address environmental issues. These programmes have emerged internationally in the last two decades, and a growing body of research is devoted to analyzing the effectiveness of this network-based governance and the role of networks in promoting cooperation.

Second, though many case studies have been conducted to assess the effectiveness of governance networks as a mode of governance, predominantly, most of these studies are project related case studies and their analysis have mainly focused on single cases and limited institutional analysis (i.e. evaluation based on only achievement of desired outcomes). Additionally, previous case studies are limited in the sense that, they are mostly dedicated to the study of the effectiveness of a particular network actor, and not the overall effectiveness of the network as a whole (see for example Provan and Kenis, 2009 & Sabatier et al, 2005a). This research was unique and useful, as in this research the effectiveness of the two programmes as a whole were the topic of interest, since the PSUP and the GRMA programmes involved the creation of policies and measures through interaction by the different network actors, the outcome of collaboration in networks is more than the sum of individual actor performance.

Also, most governance network studies have so far dealt with important questions about why governance networks are formed, how they function as a mode of governance, and what is the empirical significance of network governance in different policy fields and in different countries (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005: 199). At the crucial moment, yet unanswered questions have come to the center stage which focuses on how or to what extent governance networks actually deliver their purported normative benefits in practice? These deficits in empirical research on this crucial question in the literature have given rise to much debate and many disagreements about the impacts

and effectiveness of governance networks especially in developing countries like Ghana. This study will hopefully increase knowledge and add to existing literature on this academic field (network governance). The knowledge and experience gained from my study can bring to light the context under which networks can deliver effectively and contribute to the shaping of the new theories of governance networks that provide a framework underpinning the analysis of the success and failure of governance networks.

1.5 SCOPE/DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The focus of this research is specifically on understanding and assessing governance networks effectiveness with the aim of identifying the conditions and context that may affect successful process. The study was narrowed down to comparing two megaprojects (PSUP and GRMA) in Ghana. The demarcation of this research was within the conditions and context that supposedly may affect effective governance network. Therefore, this study did not cover the full range of the theoretical disagreements about the effectiveness of network-based governance over traditional state command and control mechanisms or market regulations in environmental governance in Ghana.

Second, the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects was assessed based on sustainability of good processes ((i.e. whether good processes have been embedded for building sustainable results). The assessment was limited at the network level. While this aspect was crucial for this kind of analysis, the projects used for the analysis were all relatively new and as such environmental outcomes typically takes long period of time to be manifested; hence it was too early to be able to assess outcomes. Hence, this present study did not cover outcome-oriented effectiveness since such assessment would require before and after data, and with my cases such data is lacking. This outcome-oriented effectiveness were not the concern of this study on the premise that such outcomes may not easily be assessed as they are influenced by multiple factors and actors besides the activities of the stakeholders in PSUP and GRMA projects.

Third, the theoretical limitation of the study was within the principles, methods, tools, and factors in the interdependency theoretical approach of network governance. With this approach it was intrinsically possible to understand the link between the processes and impact of these variables on effectiveness. Therefore the scope when looking at the case studies was limited only to the process and not the outcomes of the two selected networks programmes. For the scope of time, the analysis of the case studies began from the design of these networks through the present time. The

stakeholders who were potentially included in the study were all those participants who have been involved the processes and activities PSUP and GRMA network programmes in Ghana.

1.6 OVERVIEW OF ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This study was delineation from the previous research on governance networks that has so far concentrated on addressing crucial questions about why governance networks are formed, how they function as mode of governance, and what is the empirical significance of network governance in different policy areas and spheres (Sørensen and Torfing, 2007). Though, these earlier breakthrough studies have offered valuable insights to the understanding of governance networks, the theoretical and methodological approaches used were highly descriptive and generally lack theoretical rigor. The aim of this study was to assess the effectiveness of governance networks in building long-term collaborative process platforms for addressing environmental issues and to provide comprehensive understanding of the factors that may account for the success or failure of governance networks'; this present study was examined and analyzed within the network governance analytical framework. The network governance theoretical approach was very useful and appropriate in this study because it overcomes some of the limitations associated with previous studies on assessing the effectiveness of governance networks which have tended to mostly focused on limited institutional analysis. From the review of the theoretical arguments, five (5) main variables were identified to affect the effectiveness of governance networks. These variables included; collaboration, participation, deliberative decision-making, horizontal accountability, and learning and adaptation. These variables were considered vital to affect the effective performance governance networks as they relate to both the substantive and the procedural aspects in different phases of the policy making process hence the approach was appropriate and relevant for the assessing the extent of effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA as they exhibit good example of governance networks in Ghana.

1.7 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The qualitative case study approach of data collection and analysis was used in this study, including an analysis of official documents that discuss the perspectives of governance network 'effectiveness'. The case study method as defined by Blatter & Haverland (2012: 19) "is a non-experimental research approach focusing on a small number of variables (small-n); with a large number of observations per variable; a huge diversity of empirical observations per variable; and an intensive reflection on the relationship between concrete empirical observations and abstract theoretical concepts". The case study as a method is used when "how" or "why" questions are

being posed, and when the investigator has little control over events and the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context” (Yin, 2009: 2). This study focused on a contemporary phenomenon in a real life context rather than a historical phenomenon which makes the case study design more suitable. The study relied on small-n sample and qualitative interview in preference to large-n quantitative approach because the former was better able to engage with the complex nature of the interaction and collaborative efforts and fully captured the context, attitudes, and experiences of the participants in the PSUP and GRMA projects. Using the qualitative approach allowed for the use of open-ended questions and guided face-to-face interview and direct observations to solicit in-depth data to understand how the design features of these networks impacted on the independent variables mentioned above to produce a more conducive environment necessary for the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects.

Data for the study was obtained from different sources including semi-structured interviews, documentary reviews, and direct observations. Thus, the study relied on triangulation of data (Yin, 2009). Structured observations of the day-to-day operations and the functioning of the governance processes of the selected networks were conducted on the cases. Field notes were maintained to achieve appropriate indicators of the selected network programmes. The Layder’s Adaptive theory approach was the main analytic strategy in this study. The analysis of interviews and observation data collected from the field were guided by the Layder’s Adaptive theory approach which attempts to “combine an emphasis on prior theoretical ideas and models, which feed into and guide the research while at the same time attending to the generation of concepts and theory from the ongoing generation of data” (Layder, 1998: 19). This enhanced building a thematic analysis that mostly probably underpins the analysis of transcripts.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This research is organized into seven (7) chapters. **Chapter One** covers Introduction (which entails Background to the study, Statement of the Problem, Significance of the Study, Research objectives, Research Questions, Scope and delimitations of the study, overview of Analytical Framework, Research Methods, and Organization of the Thesis.

Chapter Two discusses theoretical perspectives of the study, indicating the theoretical models, analyzing the variables in the theories and how the variables guided the study. Also, highlighting the dependent and independent variables of the study and the linkage between them as well as their

operationalization (i.e. how each variable is measured in the study). After discussions, an analytical framework was developed for the study.

Chapter Three discusses the Research Methodology of the study. The various methodological aspects of the study being discussed include area of the study, research strategy, research design, target population, selection of participants and sample size for the study, data collection methods, data analysis, addressing issues of validity, reliability, generalization and ethical considerations.

Chapter Four covers Environmental management in Ghana. The chapter also presents the context of the two cases with regards to objectives and goals, organizational structures, features that make them good examples of governance networks, and some general successes.

Chapters Five and Six present Findings and Discussions on the study variables: Collaboration, participation, deliberations, horizontal accountability, and learning and adaptation in relation to main research objectives and research questions.

Chapter Seven provides summary of key findings, implications of the findings (i.e. linking the research data collected to theoretical approach, implication for future research and the general conclusion of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter of the empirical inquiry is to develop analytical framework for evaluating the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects in Ghana. This chapter discusses the theoretical approach in which independent variables have been outlined and hypotheses formulated. The framework intends to form the basis for identifying the conditions responsible for the effective performance of PSUP and GRMA in Ghana as well as the basis for analyzing the findings of the research. The chapter intends to discuss governance network as a mode of governance, network performance and some approaches that have dominated performance assessment of governance networks research. After review of the literature, a framework is developed for identifying the impact of the conditions responsible for effective performance of PSUP and GRMA in Ghana. The chapter concludes with the explanations and the operationalization of the study variables.

2.1 CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

2.1.1 The notion of shift from Government to Governance

The field of governance as an academic discipline has become more popular than ever for the past 30 years, and the wide publication of volumes of literature in this field further highlights the increasing interest by scholars in the field. Over the past 20 years, many governments across the globe have been experimenting with several forms of horizontal mode of governance, such as public-private partnerships (Osborne, 2000), collaborative or interactive policy making, stakeholder participation (Klijn, 2007), and all other forms of grassroots participation. The literature offers several reasons to explain this changing phenomenon, with the most notable reason being that the role and function of government are changing. In recent years most governments have become dependent on societal actors' to deliver their goals due to the growing complexities in societal challenges.

Governance can roughly be described as 'directed influence of social processes'. It covers all kinds of guidance mechanisms which are connected with public policy processes. This means that these forms of guidance are not restricted to conscious or deliberate forms of guidance. In this current modern society, self-organized or self-steering mechanisms exist which ensure that policy processes precede smoothly. Nor is governance restricted to public actors. All kinds of actors are involved in governance, if only because government does not perform all the governing itself. A wide variety of

actions from different stakeholders has consequences for governance (Kickert, Klijn & Koppenjan (1997: 2).

In terms of working definitions; by governing I mean all those activities of social, political and administrative actors that can be seen as purposeful efforts to guide, steer, control or manage (sector or facets of) societies. To distinguish these new or modern interactive forms from other, I call them social-political governing and governance in this study. Social-political forms of governing are forms of governing in which public or private actors do not act separately but in conjunction, together, in combination, that is to say in 'co' arrangements. The interactive aspects of these forms are quite important. By 'governance' I mean the patterns that emerge from governing activities of social, political and administrative actors. These patterns form the 'emerging' outcome as well as a more abstract (higher level) framework for day-to-day efforts at governing. Modes of social-political governance are always an outcome of public and private interaction. This interactive social-political governance refers to setting the tone; creating the social-political conditions for the development of new models of interactive governing in terms of co-management, co-steering and co-guidance (Kooiman 1993, pp. 2-3).

Kooiman (1993) conclusions is similar to that of Milward et al (2000) argument that governance is more inclusive term than government and it is concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action, often including agents in the private sector. According to them the essence of governance is its focus on governing mechanisms such as grants, contracts, agreements that do not rest solely on the authority and sanctions of government but these mechanisms, or tools, are used to connect networks of actors, who operate in various domains of public policy such as health, welfare, environment, or transportation (Milward et al 2000: 239). In similar respect, Peters and Pierre (2000) argued that the concept governance is a messy term more or less an umbrella concept. According to these scholars the reason for its popularity is its capacity to cover the whole range of institutions and relationships involved in the process of governing to unlike that of the narrower term 'government'. Governance as a concept to them links the political system with its environment in the governing of society. In their view to think about governance means thinking about how to steer the economy and society, and how to reach collective goals. (Peters and Pierre, 2000: 1). They looked at governance as structure and process in which the state plays a leading and directing roles, defining objectives and making priorities (Ibid: 12).

According to Rhodes (1997) the term ‘governance’ refers to a change in the meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing modern society. He defines as self-organizing, inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource exchange, rules of the game and significant autonomy from the state (Rhodes (1997: 15). In his most cited and valuable article entitled “*Understanding governance: Policy Networks, governance, reflexivity, and accountability*” further provided six different perspectives of the concept governance. Rhodes analysis on the concept governance included governance as new public management, governance as corporate governance, good governance as a socio-cybernetic system, governance as self-organizing networks, and among others. Since then other governance theorists have built on Rhodes work to add new meanings like multi-level governance and market governance (See for example Bekkers et al, 2007; Frederickson, 2005). Taking a critical and a closer look at all the different perspectives of the concept governance, this study can conclude on four different possible definitions of the concept governance that dominate the literature:

- a. Governance as *good governance or as corporate governance*: According to this perspective, governance refers to the mechanisms and principles for the proper public administration functioning. Good governance implies the type of public administration imbued with values of equality and fair treatment and application of the law to all citizens, adherence to the tenets of the principles of rule of law, and devoid of unambiguous organizational goals. Within this perspective the emphasis is on the operations or the workings of governments rather than its organization (Rhodes, 2007).
- b. Governance as *new public management*: From this perspective governance refers to the mechanisms for improving efficiency, performance and accountability. Some scholars refer to it as the market governance (see for example, Kettl, 2000). Here government is to provide the enabling environment for the private sector to thrive; thus the government function is to steer and not to row. Government's priority should be setting goals, standards and targets and not to implement these goals. The belief is that implementation is more effective and efficient if left to other organizations, which can be called to account based on the standards set. It prioritizes the market mechanisms over hierarchy and civil society to produce and distribute quality public goods to consumers.
- c. Governance as *multi-level governance or intergovernmental relations*: From this perspective governance is defined as a multi-layer government or intergovernmental governance. The emphasis is that networks are necessary to address all the societal problems which tend to cut across national boundaries. Multilevel governance literature tends to focus on the

specific kind of networks for which public actors at different levels and positions can come together to address trans-boundary problems (Bekkers *et al.* 2007; Frederickson, 2005).

- d. Governance as *network governance* (also known as self-steering or non-self-steering): From this perspective governance is perceived as organized within networks of public, semi-publics, and private actors who interact and negotiate on societal problems to find solutions to address them (Sørensen and Torfing, 2007). The emphasis here is on the complexity of the negotiation and interaction processes, and to remove or reduce these complexities and difficulties require different steering and management from politicians.

The particular concern of this study is with the fourth definition of governance, that is governance network which an emerging and innovative form of governance initiated under state power to include public, semi-publics, and private actors in shaping the flow of human events so as to facilitate the more effective and legitimate provision of solutions to complex societal problems.

2.1.2 Defining Governance Network

Governance network as a mode of public governance has become one of the most popular catchwords in the public policy discourse for recent years. This has led to considerable debate and disagreement among political scientists governance theorists over the precise meaning of the term when one uses it. However, most scholars have taken the baseline agreement of what the concept governance networks entail. Here governance networks have been simply defined as a kind of institutional arrangement for societal governance that involves a plurality of actors within inter-organizational networks, which to some extent are self-organizing and autonomous charged with policy-making (Rhodes, 1997: 660; Stoker, 1998: 18). According to these scholars governance networks describe any institutional setting for delivering societal governance with plurality of public and private actors with no formal control system that establishes the relationships between and among these actors.

According to Bob Jessop (1998) network governance is a form of governance which includes self-organizing interpersonal networks, negotiated inter-organizational co-ordination, and decentered, context-mediated inter-systemic steering. In Jessop's view the latter two cases involve self-organized steering of multiple agencies, institutions, and systems which are operationally autonomous from another yet structurally coupled due to their mutual interdependence (Jessop, 1998: 106.) He sees governance network as a specific form of self-governing. Jessop argues that the market and the state articulated in a mixed economy are the primary co-ordination instruments in

the Keynesian welfare system. However, in the emerging Schumpeterian workfare regime, the market and the state have lost significance to inter-firm networks, public-private partnerships, and a multilateral and hierarchic ‘negotiated economy’ (Ibid: 112). Dean definition throws more light on Jessop arguments. Dean sees governance network as “more or less a calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes” (Dean, 1999: 11).

A relatively recent development in organizational theory and public administration, the concept of governance network has merged with public policy and public administration and other disciplines in social sciences. Rhodes (2007) in his most appreciated article, titled “*Understanding Governance: Ten Years On*” provided a simple definition of the term governance network as the process of “governing with and through networks; to network steering” (Rhodes, 2007: 7). In specific, the major argument put forward by Rhodes in this article is that, the principal characteristic of governance in the modern era is networked, which is what he suggested in 1997. He opines that the concept of governance network was developed out of reforms in the 1980s and 1990s in the British context. Rhodes (2007) further argues that governance network gained currency during the period when the British state was said to “hollowed out” and since then has reconnected private actors and government actors among the various sectors like the state and civil society, and business sectors (Rhodes, 2007). In Rhodes conclusion, he defines governance networks in their simplest form as a process of governance whereby governments cooperate with other sectors through networks which are “self-organizing” and where all participants are “interdependent” and cohere around negotiated processes based on the “rules of the game”, trust, and obligation (Rhodes 2007: 1245).

Rhodes in his study identified four distinct characteristics of governance networks. These are resource interdependency, constant interaction and exchange between the network organizations and actors, trust and obligation, and finally there is a high degree of autonomy or networks are self-regulated (Rhodes, 2007: 1246). In Rhodes view, the state is seen as just one governance actor interacting with multiple independent actors, and can only steer the governance operations circuitously and imperfectly (Ibid). In Rhodes view trust replaces command and control as the main organizing and coordinating mechanism in hierarchical governance (Ibid: 1247). Rhodes argument confirms Frances et al assertion that “if price is the central coordinating mechanism of the market

governance and administrative orders that coordinates hierarchical governance, then it is trust, obligation, cooperation, and compromise that primarily coordinate and organize networks” (Frances et al, 1991: 15). Thompson (2003) in similar way argued that governance networks rely on “co-existent characteristics such as moral norms, common experience, sympathy, customary reciprocity, trust, obligation, duty, and common virtues” (Thompson, 2003: 40).

The most current meta-analytic literature on governance network, for instance, is the work by Sørensen and Torfing and they provided more coherent and summarized characteristics of governance networks. Sørensen and Torfing (2009) defined network governance as:

“A stable articulation of mutually dependent, but operationally autonomous actors from state, market and civil society, who interact through conflict-ridden negotiations that take place within an institutionalized framework of rules, norms, shared knowledge and social imaginaries; facilitate self-regulated policy making in the shadow of hierarchy; and contribute to the production of ‘public value’ in a broad sense of problem definitions, visions, ideas, plans and concrete regulations that are deemed relevant to broad sections of the population” (Sørensen and Torfing 2009: 236).

This definition captures most of the most essential characteristics of governance network that other scholars in the field have already provided in the literature. Most importantly, this definition is very useful for this study in that their definition addresses both the issue of policy networks as interest intermediation and network governance as a particular governance model of governance concerns. this study therefore use governance network as a generic term in the way that Rhodes and Sørensen and Torfing refers to as “a set of formal and informal institutional linkages between governmental and other actors’ structure around shared interests in public policy making and implementation” (Rhodes 2006: 426; Sørensen and Torfing 2009: 236).

Governance network might take several forms such as local partnerships, transnational networks, or regional policy-making communities. Some governance networks are more formal and established by constitutional statutes, whereas others are less formal and are more or less self-grown from the bottom. A distinction can also be made between networks that are more permanent and networks that are ad hoc in nature, open and closed networks, inter-organizational and interpersonal networks, or networks can even overlap and tangle across borders and space (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005; 2007). To conclude on this section, network governance holds the assumption that

policy is the outcome of governing processes that are not fully controlled by central governments. Public policy-making takes place within an institutionalized interactive mode of governing that comprise many actors from different spheres of society. It rests on negotiation between and among various participants whose interactions and deliberations give rise to more or less stable pattern of policy-making that establishes a form of coordination (Mayntz, 1993). Governance network is a form of governance that relies on negotiation, interdependency, and trust is needed to cope with future uncertainties in the mode of interaction between societies and government (Ibid). Public authorities and politicians have now recognized and embraced governance network as a tool for dealing with contemporary complex problems.

From the above discussions and competing definition of the concept governance network, this study therefore claims that the inception of the governance network vocabulary into the political science lexicon has provided new and useful tools of public policy analysis. The concept governance network has become such a fashionable and a power word, a dominant descriptor and the current preference of political science tastemakers as the efficient and innovative way of finding solutions to societal problems especially wicked problems (Rhodes, 1997, pp. 55-60). However, one thing that is clear and common among governance theorists is that governance networks have come to stay and offers new opportunities, effective and efficient ways in policy formulation and implementation (see for example Sørensen and Torfing, 2007; Castells, 2000). The deficiency in the literature however is governance networks actual effectiveness and the exact context in which governance networks can deliver these purported benefits in practice are yet to be established in the literature. Network performance assessment has received little empirical attention and more so in the few studies that have been conducted, the methodologies and approaches that have been employed in such studies are poorly developed (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009). It is this gap in the literature that this study hopes to bridge using empirical cases in Ghana.

2.1.3 Governance Network Practices in Africa

Governance networks have different understandings and practices and in Africa because they are embedded in different cultural and political traditions. In Eastern and Southern Africa there is an assimilation of governance networks with clientelism and corrupt methods. In Central and North Africa, governance networks are equally associated with informal access to power of elites as inherited by ex-authoritarian leaders. In West Africa, governance networks are understood as effective and legitimate mechanisms of formulating and implementing public policy (Blanchet and

James, 2012: 144-5). Also, governance networks are seen as a response to the complex, fragmented, and dynamic problems and require both vertical and horizontal coordination. Particularly in Ghana network governance is believed to have the potential of facilitating political dialogue between politicians, public administrators and other important actors (Ibid: 146-9).

2.1.4 Addressing Complex Environmental Issues: Does Governance Network Matter?

In the wake of apparent failures to govern complex environmental problems by the central state, networking modes of governance have been proposed in recent years (Newig et al 2010). Network governance is the mode most commonly associated with the concept of governance, in which autonomous actors' work together to achieve common goals (Ibid). The emergence of network governance can be characterized by an attempt to take into account the increasing importance of the private sector, NGOs, scientific networks and international institutions in the performance of various functions of governance (Dedeurwaerdere, 2005). Prominent examples of such networks that have been instrumental in forming successful working arrangements are the Global Environmental Facility, the World Commission on Dams, and the flexible mechanism of the Kyoto Protocol (Streck, 2002). Another ongoing effort of governance networks in environmental governance is the United Nations Global Compact which combines multiple actors' in a trilateral construction including representatives from governments, private sector and the NGO community to address environmental challenges (Haas, 2004: 6).

Dedeurwaerdere and Haas emphasized that one main reason for the proliferation of network approaches in environmental governance is their potential to integrate and make available different sources of knowledge and competences from different sectors and to encourage individual and collective learning (Dedeurwaerdere, 2005; Haas, 2004). According to Newig et al (2008), environmental governance currently faces various challenges that are characterized by complexities and uncertainties inherent to environmental and sustainable problems. In the view of Head (2008) network governance can provide a means to address these governance problems by institutionalizing learning on facts and deliberation on value judgments. A critical example is in the realm of global chemical safety, where transnational networks have formed around initiatives by international organizations and successfully developed rules for addressing global chemical issues many of which have been implemented by national legislations across countries. Most importantly, these transnational networks made it possible to avoid the institutional apathy that is typically found in political settings with many actors of conflicting interests, especially on a global level (Newig et al, 2008).

According to Dedeurwaerdere through integration of actors from different sectors of society, governance networks are able to provide an innovative environment of learning, providing the way for adaptive and effective governance. One particular characteristic of networks important to solving complex multi-layered environmental problems is its formation of ‘epistemic communities’ in which actors share the same basic casual beliefs and normative values (Dedeurwaerdere, 2007: 3). Although participation in these networks requires stakeholder’s interest in the policy problem at stake, the actors involved do not necessarily seek to promote the same interest (Ibid). In general, the interests are interdependent but can also be different or sometimes conflicting, emphasizing the need for consensus building and the development of cognitive commodities (Newig et al 2010: 26). The main argument in the literature for the advantage of network governance over traditional state command and control regulations or, alternatively, the use of market instruments, lies in its capacity to deal with situations of intrinsic uncertainty and decision making under bounded rationality (Haas, 2004). This is typically the case in the field of environmental governance where one has to deal with complex multi-layered and interrelated problems. In these circumstances, network governance can create a synergy between different competences and sources of knowledge from all segments of society allowing dealing with complex and interlined problems (Dedeurwaerdere, 2007).

2.2 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.2.1 Governance Network Effectiveness: Failure and Conditions of Success

With the increasing reports of state and market failure, governance networks usage and practice have become more evident as an attractive, innovative, alternative if not a complement to hierarchy and market governance (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009; Rhodes, 2007). Although it is yet to be proven, scholars like Sørensen and Torfing and Rhodes – just to mention a few believed that governance networks offer a negotiated interaction environment based on interdependency, deliberation and, a negotiation where public and private actors flexibly and proactively find common solutions to the complex and uncertain challenges of modern society (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009:2007; Rhodes, 2007). In the euphoric and an overly optimistic expectation, governance networks in the literature are praised for their ability; “to provide an interface between the public and private sector; to convey information, knowledge and assessments that help to qualify political decisions; to create a framework for the development of consensus and or the management of conflicts; to mobilize non-state resources and enhance the responsibility of private actors towards public policy; and to provide a basis for innovative thinking and flexible policy renewal through team work and constructive dialogue” (Sørensen and Torfing 2009: 205).

Bob Jessop has called our attention to the fact that governance networks can fail to deliver their purported benefits in practice (Bob Jessop, 1999: 6). According to there has been much talk about state failure and market failure, but the conditions for governance network failure also call for analysis. In his view network governance relies on precarious social and political processes, and there are many things that can go wrong and prevent the production of public purpose. However, while the market outcome can be measured in monetized profit, and measuring the success of the state normally are based on realization of specific political objectives, the success of governance cannot as easily be evaluated against the background of such pre-given standards. In contrast to government by the state, one of the main advantages with network governance is that goals will be modified through ongoing negotiation and reflection (Jessop 1998: 236). Jessop further emphasized that the starting point to assess governance network effectiveness is to focus on whether governance network or bureaucratic governance is likely to produce more efficient long-term outcomes in realizing collective goals than the invisible hands of the market or the imperative coordination by public authorities (Jessop, 1998; 237).

This present study to fully evaluate the effectiveness of all the three modes of coordination would be too ambitious, especially in methodological terms in this study. The focus of this study is only on assessing governance networks effectiveness. Jessop disagrees with assessing the effectiveness of governance networks by focusing on goal achievement. According to him the effectiveness or success of governance networks should be evaluated on the basis of procedural characteristics. Here, Jessop emphasizes three potential factors that may lead to governance network failure.

- a. First, new forms of governance provide for a new meeting ground for the conflicting logics of accumulation (as in markets) and political mobilization (as in hierarchy and public authorities). For successful problem solving, the potential conflict between marketed and non-marketed organizational forms will have to be balanced.
- b. Second, the relationship between the governance arrangements and the existing hierarchical organization should be focused. Crucial issues here are supporting measures that are taken by public authorities, the provision of material and symbolic support and the extent of duplication or counteraction by other coordination mechanisms.
- c. Third, constraints may be rooted in the nature of governance as self-organization. Especially when dealing with complex problems like governance structures most often do, oversimplification of the conditions for action and or deficient knowledge about causal

connections affecting the object of governance may cause governance failure” (Jessop, 1999: 238–240).

In Bob Jessop’s view several discouraging scenarios of governance network failure have pointed to the lack of political will, inability to balance cooperation and conflict, and unproductive group thinks especially when the network is initiated by politicians (Ibid, pp. 237-9). In similar way high transaction cost, for example, he argued may discourage relevant actors to collaborate and participate in the network. The inability to resolve internal conflicts to build trust, inadequate attempt on the part of politicians to metagovern the network as well as the inability on the part of the metagovernor (government) to understand how to metagovern (regulate) the network can all lead to network failure.

Apart from Jessop analysis, empirical examination of governance network effectiveness has received very little systematic theoretical and empirical attention in the literature. This limitation further makes it impossible to make any direct or immediate reference point to evaluate the effectiveness of governance networks as there are clear criteria for assessing the state and market failure. Yet, what is important in governance network is that goals are redefined and modified in and through constant interactions, negotiations and reflection between the multiple participating actors (Sørensen and Torfing, 2007: 38). It is until recently that Public Administration theorists like Sørensen and Torfing have attempted to consider the success of governance networks as their ability to effectively modify their competing valid goals and interests in the face of continued disagreement. In other words, they evaluated the effectiveness of governance networks in terms of their ability to deliver their purported benefits in practice. That is, provide effective governance through negotiated interaction between a plurality of independent public and private actors to address the policy problems (Sørensen and Torfing, 2007: 97).

The conclusion is that the deficits and limitations ascribed to hierarchy and market governance mechanisms are similar to the critiques on governance networks in general. For instance, Kjaer (2004: 49) concluded that governance networks should not stand alone. Kjaer emphasized that governments should play critical role in regulating networks. The fascination and euphoric praise on governance networks tends to highlight their positive effects in win-win situations, while ignoring the distribution of interests and power in particular policy areas that may undermine performance. Sørensen and Torfing (2009) also emphasized the need of meta-governance to improve the functioning of governance networks. According to them “the problem with governance

networks are just like hierarchies and markets – they are prone to failure (...). Therefore, ensuring the conditions for effective network governance performance requires a careful and deliberate governance of the self-regulated governance networks. To them, in order for governance networks to contribute to the effective governing of society, they have to metagovern by politicians i.e. regulated by government (Sørensen and Torfing 2009: 243).

2.2.2 Evaluating Governance Network Effectiveness as a Research Topic: A Neglected issue in the Empirical Literature?

The underlying question in assessing governance networks effectiveness of in building collaborative platforms to address complex environmental issues is whether they make a difference in the quality of services and public policies. In other words, what value emerges from the network-based governance? Provan and Milward in their study identified three levels of analysis for assessing the effectiveness of governance networks involved in community-based health and human services. These elements included; the network as an organization, the community, and the organizational participants. They outlined three categories of constituents who need to be considered; “principals, who monitor and fund the network and its activities; agents, who work in the network both as administrators and service-level professionals; and clients, who actually receive the services provided by the network (Provan and Milward, 2001: 416). According to them effectiveness criteria might include a mix of process issues (such as the network survival, membership interaction, network growth, and service co-ordination and outcome issues at different levels (such as impact on clients, range of services, cost effectiveness of services) (Ibid: 416-7).

In evaluating governance networks effectiveness of in the area of human services provision for disadvantaged societies, Connell et al. (1995) and Schorr (1988, 2003) emphasized the need for rigorous research on the impact of the network programmes on the disadvantaged population groups. For example, evidence-based programme evaluations using rigorous methods including randomized controlled trials. However, methods such as randomized controlled trials may be misleading and insufficient due to problems such as limited formal knowledge derived from network programme. In this regard, other sources of knowledge are required, because “too many programs are multidimensional, cannot or should not be standardized, evolve or adapt through time, require stakeholders’ active involvement, or are heavily dependent for success on good implementation, not just good design” (Schorr 2003: 3). Schorr therefore support the need for more flexible forms of assessment that require researchers to work jointly in pooling their knowledge together.

In relation to environmental issues, governance networks have been persistent in developing multiple strategies to address a number of inter-connected issues both at the local and regional levels. This has led some scholars using multiple criteria for evaluating success of these collaborative programmes. For example, Leach et al (2002) in their study of US watershed management initiatives used six types of outputs and outcomes criteria to assess the programme's effectiveness. These included; "the perceived effects of the partnership on specific problems in the watershed; implementation of agreed restoration projects; perceived effects of the partnership on human and social capital; the extent of agreement reached among the stakeholders; collection of data for monitoring the effects of actions taken; and undertaking education and outreach projects" (Leach et al. 2002 cited in Head, 2008:742). However, this study was cautious of any premature judgments being drawn by funders' and public officials since both PSUP and GRMA projects may take several time to overcome distrust, educate stakeholders, secure funding, reach agreements, and begin implementation. Additionally, this study saw the limitations in relying on the 'satisfaction' expressed by stakeholders as used in some studies for the reason that such views may be misleading and a poor guide to determine whether enduring benefits are being achieved for the environment as emphasized by Coglianese (2002). All these highlight the importance of the use of process factors in evaluating the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA in Ghana.

2.3 THEORETICAL APPROACH OF THE STUDY

A quality social science research needs to be guided by theoretical framework, hence theory or propositions is an important component of the research design (King et al. 1994). In the view of Miles and Huberman (1984), it is important in any research the use of a conceptual framework to guide the researcher in formulating the research questions and hypotheses. The theoretical framework "explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main dimensions to be studied- the key factors, or variables- and presumed relationships among them" in a study (Miles and Huberman, 1984: 28). Rueschemeyer (2009: 6) stated that, theories are very useful in a social science research because it provides a foundation for inquiry by specifying classes of variables loosely fit together into a coherent structure. In order to conduct top-quality research and avoid finding myself in confusion as the study develops, it is important to weave together knowledge from different studies into more abstract theory.

According to Kerlinger, theory is "a set of interrelated constructs or variables, definitions and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables,

with the purpose of explaining natural phenomena” (Kerlinger 1979: 64). No single theory is sufficient and adequate enough to address the research questions posed above and to achieve the objective of accounting for the actual conditions under which we can find the effectiveness of governance networks and examine the context in which we can failure. To provide comprehensive speculations and to fully assess the extent of effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA in Ghana, the study applied the network governance theoretical approach which provided a comprehensive overview of the conditions that may account for the effectiveness of the two cases under investigation.

2.3.1 The Network Governance Theory (NGT)

The study was anchored on the governance network theoretical approach. According to the governance network theoretical approach, public policy-making and implementation increasingly take place within a multi-layered polity, formally organized by governments at central, regional and local levels. At all levels, policy-making involves elected politicians as well as powerful executive administrators. However, it also involves other actors like lower ranking administrators, interest organizations, private and public firms, popular movements and citizen groups (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). This is what we call governance within and through networks of *interdependent, but operationally autonomous actors that are involved in the production of public policy*.

From this approach, governance networks are inter-organizational medium for interest mediation between autonomous and interdependent, but antagonistic and conflicting actors, each of whom has a resource base of themselves (Sørensen and Torfing, 2007). Governance networks are formed through the outcome of the strategic actions of independent actors who interact in order to benefit from the resource base (such as knowledge, innovative ideas, funding, formal authority etc.) of other actors to regulate and govern a certain policy sector (Ibid: 52). Decision-making is based on continuous interaction, compromise and negotiation among stakeholders and consensus becomes possible because of stakeholders’ mutual resource dependencies to address public problems which individual actors cannot unless they collaborate (Ibid: 97). The approach emphasized that governance networks are formed through incremental bottom-up processes where politicians strategically select some actors participate in the policy making and implementation process (Rhodes, 2006). It is believed governance networks seek and promote different antagonistic interests mainly through the internal power struggle mechanisms, but importantly are held and bound together by their mutual interdependence, which ultimately promote compromise as well as providing a relatively stable environment for negotiation for effective and efficient delivery of network goals.

Consequently, network governance theorists argue that public policy making are moving towards being intertwined in forms of interactive networks which in many cases are not prescribed by constitutions, legal frameworks and statutes. This they call ***governance networks***; they are neither market nor government nor civil society instruments, they are hybrid organizational forms (Peters, 2005). In my understanding, governance networks integrate a number of ***interdependent***, but autonomous actors performing ***negotiations*** based on a ***common understanding*** of factors like regulation, norms and common perceptions. Such networks ***coordinate*** policy decisions, and they may to some degree be ***self-regulating*** (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005; 2007; 2009). However, there will be some steering or controlling of the networks by formal government, and such orchestration will here conceptually be termed ***meta-governance***.

Governance through and within networks makes us understand networks as flexible and proactive ***autonomous self-organizing***, and ***self-governing***. For these reasons, it has been emphasized that governance networks in order to succeed require ***trust, reputation, mutual interdependence, and reciprocity*** and (Rhodes, 1996 pp.658-659). This suggests that governance networks provide a reflexive alternative to the procedural rationality of the market and the substantial rationality of the state (Jessop, 2002). In the wake of market and state-controlled instruments failure, network governance rises as a phoenix from the ashes to have the capacity in building platforms for collaborative processes that can contribute to enhance the quality of public policies and delivery public services.

However, it is important to emphasize in this study that the network governance approach in strict sense is not a causal theory, but rather a framework of analysis that presents key factors and mechanisms which affect the quality and effectiveness of public policies and service delivery in the public sector (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). The approach suggests a linkage between network process and outcome or impact (providing greater benefits to citizens). In applying this theoretical approach, the focus was on linking the explanatory variables to the extent of effectiveness of governance networks in Ghana (i.e. dependent variable). The approach emphasized that the critical need for assessing the effectiveness or success of a governance network in terms of both process and outcome related measures.

However, the success or effectiveness of a governance network is not prescribed on forehand, the effectiveness of governance networks is believed to be most often depends on the institutional capacity, deliberative process, and the use of management techniques. In this sense the approach

understood governance networks as new interactive forms of governance that can facilitate interaction, collaboration, and cooperation among the participants through effective management to address complex problems. Based on the arguments and discussions espoused above, the study identified five crucial interconnected variables that may affect the extent of effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA collaborative process in Ghana. The independent variables consist of factors and conditions I believed could positively or negatively impact on building long-term multi-stakeholder commitments. These five independent variables included; collaboration, participation, deliberation, learning and horizontal accountability. How these variables affect and influence the building of effective collaborative platforms are explained below.

2.4 BACKGROUND DISCUSSION OF THE CONDITIONS AFFECTING EFFECTIVE NETWORK GOVERNANCE

2.4.1 Collaboration

The first factor or condition in the theory is impact collaboration has on the success of governance networks. Collaboration in the study was used to mean the requirement of two or more stakeholders to pool resources, formal authority, legal rights, legitimacy, experiences, organizational capacities, political competences, and financial means to address problems they find difficult to address alone (Holley et al 2013: 56; Sørensen and Torfing, 2009: 235-6). This was one of the primary conditions for effective governance network the study assessed. The primary objective of many network-based governance projects is to form a multi-stakeholder long term commitment or collaborative body to develop and plan negotiated solutions to complex developmental issues and design strategies to guide implementation (Ibid). It is believed that meeting this goal is not a small undertaking due to the enormous problems of collective action dilemmas'. So here I was concerned with the conditions under which cooperation is possible. Thus, I intend to examine and assess stakeholders perspectives on the conditions that facilitated the successful collaboration or otherwise.

It has been emphasized that effective network governance depends on the need to design the network in such way that there is motivation for all relevant actors to come to cooperate especially when the problem at stake requires various forms of knowledge, a combination of professional expertise on the hand, and local of the problem on the other (Shearing and Froestad, 2012). For this to happen, it requires a genuine attempt to resolve cooperation difficulties (Holley et al 2013: 58). Previous empirical studies (e.g. Holley et al, 2013; Sabatier et al, 2005a) have indicated the importance of having secured and well established funding, incentive systems and building trust in

reducing high transaction costs that can undermine effective cooperation. The assumption here was that these mechanisms would help minimize or reduce the cooperative difficulties. It was these mechanisms that the study sought to examine and find out their impact in the PSUP and GRMA programmes.

2.4.2 Participation

I intend to examine how the determination of the membership in a governance network affects the good performance of PSUP and GRMA in Ghana. Participation consists of the membership and the actual influence of the individual stakeholders in the network. With participation the focus was on the inclusiveness and openness nature of the network, and the extent of coordination and commitment within the network. One factor that can enhance the effectiveness of a governance network is extent to which local people (beneficiaries) are put in the lead in the planning and execution of development issues. Measures of inclusiveness and openness and how the actual roles and influence of community-based groups have been are to be examined. The assumption is that the greater the degree of openness and inclusiveness in governance network the more likely that it may be able to create an enabling environment to maximize the contributions of stakeholders from all sectors to development planning and implementation (Holley et al 2013; Sørensen and Torfing, 2009).

2.4.3 Deliberations

In addition to the degree of inclusiveness and openness in the governance network, the decision-making process within a governance network is an important factor that may affect its effectiveness. With deliberative decision-making, I intend to examine the decision-making process that operates in the networks and the effect a particular decision rule has on performance. I also intend to examine the extent participants have equal influence in the decision-making process. Sørensen and Torfing emphasize that governance networks are characterized by complex decision-making process due to asymmetrical power relations among the stakeholders (Sørensen and Torfing, 2007: 112). They mention further that effective performance of governance network may only depend on decisions rules that promote the processes of mediation, compromise, negotiation, and other similar forms of consensus deliberations unlike voting and veto (Ibid : 112). The existence of clear rules that governed the decision-making process within the governance network, specific procedures, guidelines for consensus deliberations are some of the design mechanisms that may help ameliorate the challenges of power imbalances which prevents equal and fair forms of deliberations among stakeholders and local people are emphasized in the study. The assumption is that the greater the

degree a governance network promotes decision rules that foster compromise and consensus building the more likely it may change the power relations to ensure equal and fair forms of deliberations among stakeholders.

2.4.4 Horizontal Accountability

The fourth variable the study examines focuses on horizontal accountability. This has been considered an important factor that impact on effectiveness of governance networks for the reason that governance networks are argued to be known for low degree of formality and the tendency to exhibit low degree of transparency and accountability because their formation, functioning and processes normally escape publicity and scrutiny. The degree of accountability and transparency in a governance network has both positive and negative effect on the effectiveness of many multi-stakeholders alliance initiatives. Horizontal accountability in this study refers to the assumption of greater and important roles by local citizens and non-governmental actors as well as community-based groups in the governance process (Holley et al, 2013). According to an empirical study conducted by Holley et al horizontal forms of accountability unlike the solely hierarchical relationship in bureaucratic and market governance facilitates mutual oversight between stakeholders who check each other's behaviour as well as downward relationships such as stakeholders being accountable to their respective groups through monitoring and reporting on the progress of targets (Holley et al 2013: 101). This study intends to examine how targets and objective are set and the implementation so far of these targets. I also intend to examine how the monitoring of targets, actions, and general evaluation been going in PSUP and GRMA network programmes. The assumption here is that the assumption of greater and important roles by local citizens and non-governmental actors as well as community-based groups in the governance process may change the pattern of accountability to ensure that planning and implementation of targets are transparent and responsive to citizens and stakeholder demands to enhance effectiveness.

2.4.5 Learning and Adaptation

Finally, learning and adaption is also considered as important conditions that affect effective governance network. Learning and adaptation refers to the requirement that a governance network is able to monitor key indicators on the progress of set targets and incrementally learn and adjust to new targets and changing environment in the light of what is learnt through the monitoring process (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009: 242). According to Sørensen and Torfing a network ability to learn from monitoring data on the progress of targets are ways of encouraging stakeholders to undertake

self-reflective learning and thinking about the impacts of their policy outcomes on the problem dealing with are some of the ways to enhance the effectiveness of network actors. Based on this assumption I intend to examine the extent to which there has been sharing and exchange of information, ideas, experiences, and learning between stakeholders to diffuse innovation to facilitate a continual process of adapting to its management practices may help enhance networks compliance to their policy targets. All these are believed to enhance the ability of governance networks to build capacity for future cooperation to cope with the dynamism, uncertainty, and the complexity of modern multi-faceted problems. This study is based on the assumption that an improved learning and adaption may enhance the network capacity to build long lasting, quality, and coherent commitments.

2.5 THE RELEVANCE AND APPLICATION OF THE NGT IN THE PRESENT STUDY

Identifying the conditions and factors that may account for the effectiveness of governance networks is extremely difficult task and it is not possible to apply the criteria, concepts and methods traditionally used in market or hierarchical based governance. As stated by Jessop (1999) while the market governance effectiveness and failure can be estimated in monetary terms, and hierarchical governance success and failure are normally assessed based on the realization of specific policy goals, the effectiveness of governance networks cannot easily be assessed against the backdrop of such pre-stated standards. In contrast to the other modes of governance, the main advantage with governance network is that policy goals are shaped and modified through the ongoing processes of negotiation, interaction, cooperation, and compromise (Jessop, 1999: 236). The most significant advantage of network governance analytical framework is that, it focuses on assessing effectiveness in terms of both process and outcomes measures.

As indicated earlier, most studies on assessing network effectiveness is limited in the sense that they only focus on assessing the effectiveness of particular actor in the network programme and not the effectiveness of the network as a whole (see for example Kenis and Provan, 2009). In this study, the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA as a whole is the topic of interest, since the PSUP and the GRMA network programmes involved the creation of policies and measures through interaction with the different network members, the outcome of collaboration and participation in the networks is more than the sum of its parts, and therefore simply adding up individual outcomes is not enough to ascertain the actual performance of governance networks.

Another limitation in the literature that the application of this theory overcomes is the problematic definition of ‘effectiveness’ with regards to governance networks due to the value-laden connotations. In principle a wide range of normative standards or criteria may be used to assess the effectiveness of governance networks. Such normative criteria may include productivity, democracy, equity, stability, learning capacity, and goal-attainment. Although all these effectiveness criteria are justified according to Kenis & Provan (2009), the explicit choice of an appropriate criterion is often not clarified in most research which should not be the case. For instance, assessing effectiveness based on goal achievement is complicated since we understand that the definition of policy goals in governance networks is subject to the ongoing negotiations and conflicts, leading to unclear shifting and competing goals.

Also, we understand that the real strength of a governance network often lies in a common definition of the objectives reflecting the complexity of policy problems. In this case other procedural criteria such as collaboration, participation, deliberation, learning and adaptation, horizontal accountability can be used to assess the effectiveness of governance networks in terms of the sustainability of the good process and achievement of desired outcomes compared to approaches like social network analysis which determines effectiveness only in terms of goal attainment. Consistent with recent studies (for example, Holley et al 2013, Sørensen & Torfing, 2011), this study considers such limited approach inadequate and inappropriate.

Another problem with the assessment of network effectiveness that the application of the network governance theory overcomes is that most studies often use the ‘ex post’ satisfaction surveys to account for the effectiveness of governance networks. Although the ex-post satisfaction surveys criteria to some extent might help to overcome some of the limitations of the goal-attainment criterion, but it may consequently lead to an unreliable or an affirmative answer of the respondents. Furthermore, this criterion only considers the performance of individual network actor views rather than the performance of the network as a whole or unit (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009).

2.6 STUDY VARIABLES

The study’s dependent variable was **the extent of effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects**. The purpose of the study was to understand and assess governance network effectiveness in the context of environmental management. In evaluating governance network effectiveness therefore in this study, the sustainability of good process (i.e. whether good processes have been embedded for

building sustainable results) was the main focus of the study. In other words, the extent to which long-term multi-stakeholder commitment has been built through good processes designed to overcome many years of litigation, deadlock, and antagonism was the focus of this study. The study focused on assessing only the process factors of the selected project at least for three main reasons.

- i. First, in a complex problem area with many inter-dependent stakeholders and causal factors in play, the specific contribution of network governance to outcome goals and trends may be very difficult to unravel.
- ii. Second, any positive change in the pattern of outcomes may take several years to occur.
- iii. Third, if a governance network is necessary for bringing diverse stakeholders towards resolving complex problems or improving services, the processes by which such undertaking is built and maintained are clearly of vital significance.

This operationalization has wider coverage of effectiveness in network governance since it considers various aspects of performance like; the formal structure of the networks as organizations, the relationships between participants, empowering community members and participants to hold accountable over their decisions and implementation, and the relevance of their activities to the objectives of initiating the networks.

From the network governance theory, five (5) key conditions (i.e. independent variables) affect the effectiveness in network governance. These factors included; **collaboration, participation, deliberations, horizontal accountability, and learning and adaptation**. This present study did not claim that these were the only contingencies that are most relevant to affect the effectiveness of governance networks in all contexts. Rather, my argument was based on the network governance theoretical arguments discussed above, the theory and research of Holley et al (2013), Provan and Kenis (2009), and on my general understanding of effective governance network. The operationalization of these variables is provided below.

2.6.1 Collaboration

Collaboration was measured in this study by examining the stakeholders' perspectives on the mechanisms to facilitate the pooling of resources such as knowledge, information, labour or funds to address issues they find difficult to address individually. In other words how did they go about motivating participants to come to the collaborative table? The study assessed the institutional design mechanisms best reduce high transaction cost for cooperation based on the responses from

the respondents. All these were aimed at identifying whether the stakeholders were sufficient, and if not who were missing and the reasons for their absence and how that impact on the good processes of PSUP and GRMA. For instance, respondents were asked what conditions facilitates successful cooperation and to sustain them over the long period of time? As well as the factors that may inhibit the PSUP and GRMA from being maintained were all examined.

H1: “The degree of governance network effectiveness depends on their ability and capacity to motivate and activate the actors to participate in the processes”.

2.6.2 Participation

I operationalized participation by examining the stakeholder membership of PSUP and GRMA. How is membership determined in cases and the degree of inclusiveness and representativeness? The study also examined the kinds and levels of participation and what groups of NGOs are brought in practice. To what extent local citizens and community-based groups are engaged and contribute to the governance of human impacts on their environment and how the stakeholders seek to communicate and interact with the wider communities in which they operate were all examined to find out the impact participation has on the extent of the effectiveness of governance networks.

H2: “The active inclusion and effective representation of affected and relevant stakeholders in the governance process, the more governance network may be effective”.

2.6.3 Deliberations

A deliberation in this study was operationalized by examining the decision-making process that operates in PSUP and GRMA projects. To what extent stakeholders have equal influence in the decision-making process? The study also examined how are decisions made in both cases i.e. is it dominated by the most influential actors? To what degree are local citizens and community-based groups able to shape the planning and implementation of targets in the networks? In other words, the study examines the extent those actors gaining access to the PSUP and GRMA networks have actually become part of the network and actually gaining influence in the governance process.

H3: “The nature of decision-making does has a huge impact on the deliberative process in a governance network”.

2.6.4 Horizontal Accountability

I operationalized horizontal accountability in this study by examining the extent of formality in terms clear distribution of roles and responsibilities, and transparency in terms of stakeholder oversight through arenas for open discussions and demand for explanations the extent these positively or negatively affect the effectiveness in PSUP and GRMA. The objective was to examine how both PSUP and GRMA have ensured predictability in the process. Also, the extent decisions and policies that go on in the network are made subject the affected communities.

H4: “Effective governance network depends on the degree of formality and transparency within the governance process”.

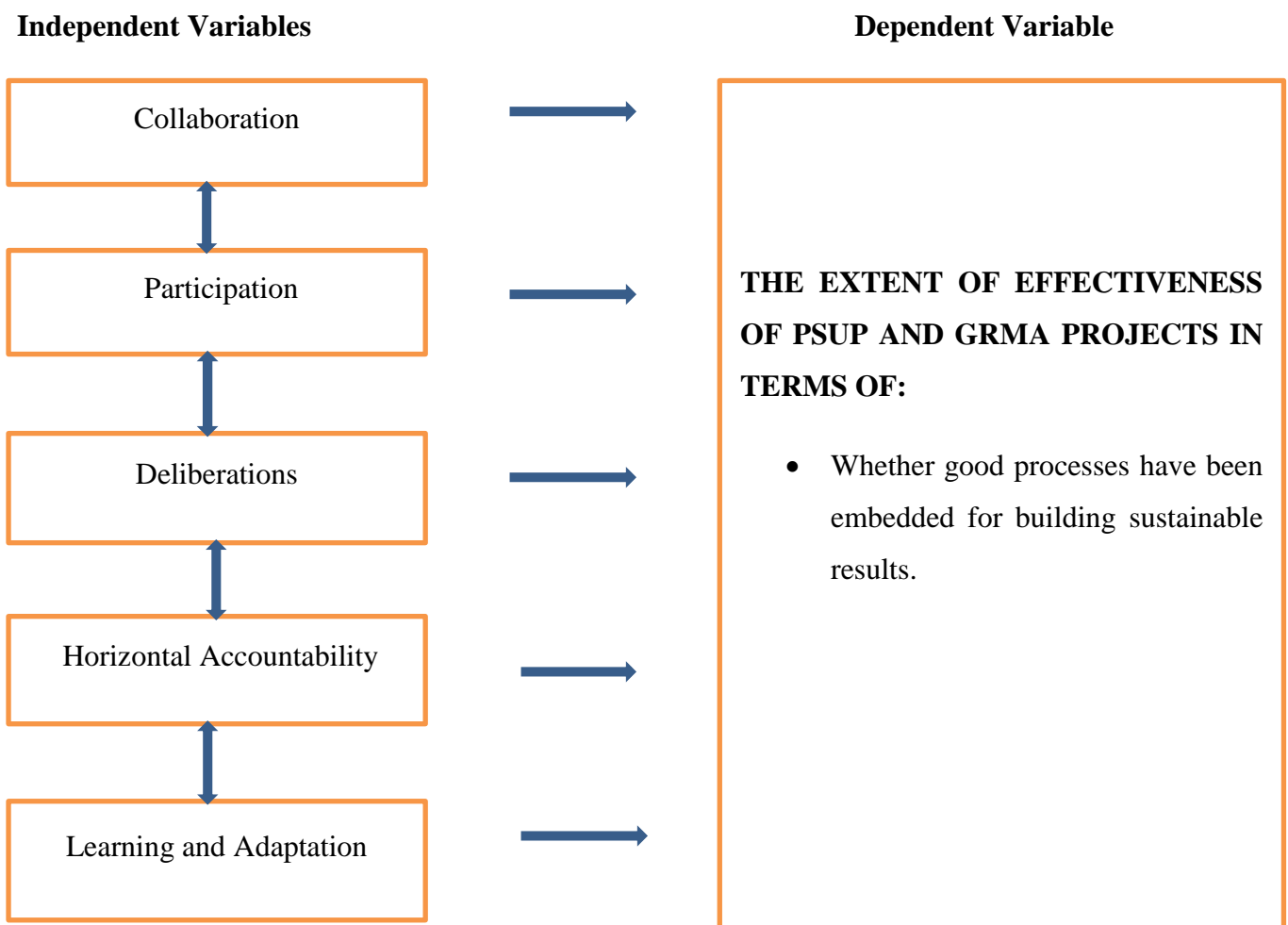
2.6.5 Learning and Adaptation

I operationalized learning and adaptation by examining the extent stakeholders in PSUP and GRMA networks have been able to learn from monitoring data on their progress and adapted to its management process. While learning can involve different dimension, the study was particularly interested in those that are conducive to networks effectiveness in the context of environmental management. In this respect the study assessed actors’ access to information and the extent there has been sharing of experiences, knowledge, and ideas about the policy problems between slum dwellers and communities affected by mining activities. All these were aimed at determining the extent on the individual actors’ level and the networks as a whole have acquired new knowledge or change their perceptions of the environment.

H5: “The effectiveness of governance networks depends on the network ability to provide an access to innovative information and influence the way information is being processed”.

2.7 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: LINKING INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

As indicated earlier in the previous sections, the basis of the analytical framework for this study is the network governance broad theoretical approach. The study identified five key characteristics or conditions that may affect the success of network-based governance. The following figure intends to demonstrate the relationship between independent and dependent variables through the theoretical framework of the study.



Source: Developed from reviewed literature (June-August, 2014).

Figure 1: Analytical Framework for the study

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter was aimed at reviewing the present governance network literature to develop analytical framework for understanding and assessing the extent of effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects in Ghana. From the theoretical arguments and reviewed empirical, five (5) variables have been identified to affect embedding good processes for building sustainable results in governance networks (i.e. network effectiveness). In general, the chapter has concluded that embedding good processes for building sustainable results in governance networks depends on effective collaboration, participation, deliberations, horizontal accountability, and learning and adaptation. Hypotheses have been formulated based on these variables to test their validity through the empirical findings from this study. The operational definitions of these variables and their applicable measurements in this study have also been highlighted in this chapter. The next chapter discusses the research methodology used in this research to solicit data to address the research questions put forth. The justification for adopting the qualitative research approach and the case study design will be outlined.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed illustration of how this evaluation research was conducted. The chapter focuses on how data was collected and analyzed to answer the research questions. This chapter would also explore among other things the research strategy and design of the study as well as the rationale behind the choice of research strategy would also be discussed. The selection of participants, methods of data collection, instruments used and methods of data analysis would also be discussed. The justification for the selection of the case would also be given. This chapter also highlights some of the ethical issues the study took into consideration before collecting data from participants and highlights the limitations of the study and challenges I faced during field work.

3.1 EVALUATION RESEARCH

The understanding and assessment of network effectiveness is necessary academic task since networks are often set up to create certain values for society (in this case address environmental issues), and therefore networks should be assessed to find out whether they contribute to fulfill these ambitions. In the view of Patton evaluation research normally seeks to examine and judge processes and outcomes of intervention attempts aimed at solving problems or bringing about change in society (Patton, 2002: 218). He further identified two main types of evaluation research in the governance networks literature. These are formative and summative evaluations (Ibid). The goal of summative evaluations has always been to assess the overall effectiveness of an intervention program whereas the purpose of formative evaluations is to formulate policy recommendations on the basis of which an intervention program can be improved.

Whereas summative evaluations can be generalized to future efforts and to other programs, the usefulness of formative evaluations is limited to the specific setting studied (Patton, 2002: 224). Since the purpose of this study is to understand and assess the overall effectiveness of governance networks, this study was summative evaluation research. The results that this summative evaluation would give are “judgments and generalizations about effective types of interventions and the conditions under which those efforts are effective” (Patton, 2002: 224). To conduct this evaluation analysis, I used two empirical cases from Ghana (i.e. the PSUPS and GRMA projects). I relied on a variety of materials documents, direct observation and face-to-face qualitative interviews with the

stakeholders as key data sources as elaborated later in the next sections. Accra, the administrative capital of Greater Accra region and the capital city of Ghana was the research locale of the study. The target population was the stakeholders of PSUP and GRMA projects whose operations and activities cut across districts and regions but have their administrative office in Accra. The study was centered in Accra because the head offices of these networks are based in Accra where major meetings and interactions takes place. Notwithstanding that, the Ga Mashie and Old Fadama slum communities in the Greater-Accra region and Asutifi and Wassa West districts where the activities of the networks are focused were visited.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

The research approach describes the overall methodological orientation that guides the researcher in answering the empirical research questions. In deciding a research approach to conduct this study, the qualitative, quantitative and or the mixed or combination of the approaches can be used. The **quantitative approaches** normally work through the “*post-positivist worldview*” (Creswell, 2013: 7). The quantitative approach is more suitable for theory testing. Its orientation is through the deductive approach by formulating and narrowing down hypotheses from a particular theory and collecting empirical evidence from the field to revise, support or debunk the hypotheses (Ibid). The quantitative approach normally uses surveys and experimental designs to employ multiple variables and large samples to make statistical generalization (Creswell, 2013: 12).

In **qualitative approach**, both empirical data collection and analysis is done from the inductive approach by specifically using empirical evidence or data collected to develop a theory (Layder, 1998: 134). Unlike the quantitative approach which uses numbers and statistics, the qualitative approach limits itself to interpreting empirical data collected in patterns and drawing judgments from the perspective of the informants to establish deeper meaning and understanding of the phenomenon (King *et al.* 1994: 23). It is suitable for providing sufficient and in-depth theoretical insight of a phenomenon rather than statistical theory testing and explanation. In this wise the qualitative approach utilizes few variables to allow for deeper and in-depth analysis of a case (Creswell, 2013: 13). The **mixed method approach** on the other hand aims to bridge the weaknesses in the quantitative and qualitative approaches by making use of the strengths of both approaches. Whereas the qualitative approach helps in developing deeper and in-depth understanding of a phenomenon from the participants view point, quantitative approach builds on to increase the analytical and theoretical rigor by drawing statistical generalizations and conclusions (Creswell, 2013; King *et al.* 1994; Layder, 1998).

In deciding a research approach to conduct this study, the qualitative, quantitative and or the mixed or combination of the approaches could be used. However, the qualitative approach which limits itself to interpreting empirical data collected in patterns and drawing judgments from the perspective of the informants to establish deeper meaning and understanding of the phenomenon (King et al. 1994: 23) was applied in this study. The qualitative approach was more suited for the study rather than quantitative or mixed approach because the empirical questions the study sought to address deals with ‘what’, ‘why’, and ‘how’ of a phenomenon and it is only through the qualitative approach that I can establish the meaning, context as well as challenges of social phenomenon from perspectives of respondents. The main focus of this study is on understanding and assessing the effectiveness of governance networks since networks bring to the table a diversity of lived experiences from stakeholders, diversity of relevant information, priorities interpretations, and perspectives about what works and about what is worthwhile. This complicates the task of understanding what ‘effectiveness’ means and how to evaluate it with regards to networks. It only requires more nuanced approaches and greater reliance on qualitative information about stakeholder perceptions of progress in achieving objectives.

Consistent with earlier studies (e.g. Holley et al, 2013; Provan and Kenis, 2008; Bogason and Sørensen 1998), the qualitative approach has been considered the most suitable for this kind of analysis as it utilizes few variables to allow for deeper and in-depth analysis of the case. To verify the reliability of the findings of previous studies, this study relied on small-n sample and qualitative interviews in preference to large-n quantitative approach in the Ghanaian political context because the former was better able to engage with the complex nature of the interaction and collaborative efforts and fully captures the context, attitudes, and experiences of the participants in PSUP and GRMA projects. This allowed for the use of open-ended questions and guided face-to-face interviews, direct observations, and documentary review to gather in-depth data to assess how the variables mentioned impact on the effectiveness of the two selected networks. These sources of data mentioned above have been used in gathering data for my study.

As indicated earlier, the intention behind this study was to come out with explanations of the factors that may account for the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects in addressing urban poverty and the qualitative approach provided the kind of flexibility needed as an investigator to probe further and deeper to solicit more information in a natural setting to analyze the issue at stake as this approach normally take the form of “words rather than numbers” and are “explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts” (Miles and Huberman, 1994:1). Specifically, the actions, behaviors, attitudes and activities of the stakeholders would be directly observed in a natural setting to get rich

authentic data devoid of any distortions to understand the real performance of these network programmes. However, one challenge envisaged in using the qualitative approach is that it deals with single or few cases. The qualitative approach focuses on few cases which often do not offer strong grounds for empirical generalization of findings. It is therefore important to note that the small numbers of respondents interviewed in the study should not necessarily be taken as statistically representative but rather analytic generalization.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design describes a type of inquiry within the qualitative, quantitative and mixed approaches that provides specific direction for procedures to guide the inquirer in a research study (Creswell, 2013: 12). It concerns itself with the overall decision involving which approach should be used to study a topic. It is the most critical aspect of the research journey as it becomes the road map that drives the researcher to his destination. In taking this decision, the researcher has to take into consideration the philosophical assumptions he or she wants to bring to the study, procedures of scientific inquiry, and the specific methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Creswell, 2013: 3). According to Yin (2009) the research design is the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn to the initial questions of study (Yin, 2009: 24). It is a strategic strategy or a practical guide the researcher should follow in carrying out the research project (Ibid: 24).

The case study design which describes a “non-experimental research approach focusing on a small number of variables (small-n); with a large number of observations per variable; a huge diversity of empirical observations per variable; and an intensive reflection on the relationship between concrete empirical observations and abstract theoretical concepts” (Blatter & Haverland (2012: 19) was used to assess the impact of the selected factors on the extent of effectiveness in the performance of PSUP and GRMA in Ghana. Using the case study design allowed comparing the cases, making statements about their empirical regularities and also evaluating the cases in relation to their substantive and theoretical criteria as argued by King et al (1994).

The research questions posed in this study are ‘what’ and ‘how’ questions and the study investigates a “contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context,” where I the researcher has little control over events (Yin, 2009: 2), the case study design is the most appropriate in this context. The case study design allowed the use of multiple sources of evidence to be used and this study focused on contemporary issue (performance of governance networks) within a “real life context” and the

investigator having little control over events. The study was a case study design in which two governance networks were selected in Ghana. The study assessed the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA network programmes. The case study design helped in taking into account the broad and diverse set of explanatory and cognitive factors like norms, ideas, and discourses into the analysis, and in the network programmes it is expected that a number of conditions together determine the outcome.

The case study design was of particular importance to this study when explaining the specific processes of collaboration, participation, and deliberation and the results of decision-making. The evaluation indicators indicated above are no easy to score criteria, but rather broad and abstract ideas. Reflection on the meaning and relationship of the obtained data was particularly needed. In contrast to large-N studies, the use of case study design helped in understanding the perceptions and motivations of the stakeholders in the various programmes.

3.4 UNIT OF ANALYSIS, SELECTION CASES, RESPONDENTS AND SAMPLE SIZE FOR THE STUDY

3.4.1 Criteria for the Selection of Cases

Owing to the limitations of previous case studies on governance networks effectiveness which are mainly project related case studies and have mainly tended to focus on single case studies and limited institutional analysis, multiples of cases with embedded units of analysis were used in this study. Consistent with the governance network theoretical approach, these cases selected exhibit great variation across a range of variables, the scale of action including their problem focus, mixes and roles of participants, their existence, and policy contexts which makes it appropriate to compare and evaluate their performance. Although other programmes could have been included in the study, given the inevitable time and budget limitations, I focused on these two programmes with the main objective of capturing differences in for example policy domain in which the problems are located, the complexity and challenges of the problem, key stakeholders and roles of network stakeholders, and the functional focus of the collaborative activities. The table below demonstrates the criteria for selecting the two cases.

Table 1: Differences among different types of Network Governance

Cases	The policy domain in which the problems are located	Key stakeholders and Network scale of action	Funding and Roles of network Stakeholders	Functional focus of the collaborative activities
PSUP Project	Urban Planning, slum upgrading, community development	PSUP included only few government agency, NGOs and local residents	Relied mainly on the facilitation and use of government assisted funds, shared responsibility in planning, implementation, and monitoring	Information exchange among members, policy advice and advocacy.
GRMA Project	Environmental protection and sustainability, local capacity building	GRMA involved multiple local, industry bodies, NGOs and local citizens.	Relied mainly on members contributions, government grants, key functions are administered by the lead organization	Information exchange among participants, local capacity building, better planning for land use

Source: Based on Field Data (June-August, 2014).

3.4.2 Selection of Respondents

With regards to selecting respondents for the study, we know that the qualitative approach and for that matter the case study design allow for events, cases, people, activities, times, and documents to be sampled, the sampling procedure should be purposive rather than random as it happens in quantitative research (Yin, 2009). The purposive sampling technique which simply involves selection of participants and elements to be included in the study based on certain criteria was used to select participants for the study. To purposively select respondents for the cases, the adjusted version of the ‘snowball-technique’ was used as first step (Bogason and Sørensen 1998). I started snowballing by interviewing the stakeholders in the chosen networks, and then, based on their information, I selected other participants who have relevant information and knowledge about the PSUP and GRMA network programmes and their functioning and can therefore provide adequate and relevant information in answering the research questions. Respondents for the study were mainly stakeholders who are actively involved in the processes and activities of PSUP and GRMA in Ghana. Data collected from these respondents covered the various key stakeholders I considered as important in the study. The study did not focus on survey of representative sample of people in the networks and communities. But rather, the study focused on some selected respondents for analytical purposes as in qualitative research approach rather than being used for statistical generalization as the case of quantitative research approach. The total number of respondents in the study was twenty-six (26). I put respondents into five categories. These categories of persons were considered knowledgeable and relevant for the study as they provided the needed data for the study. The table below shows the total numbers participants interviewed.

Table 2: Sample Size

PSUP Project		GRMA Project	
Stakeholder Type	Respondents	Stakeholder Type	Respondents
a. Residents	3	a. Residents	3
b. Government (AMA, EPA, and MESTI)	2	b. Government (EPA, Asutifi and Wassa West district Assemblies)	2
c. NGOs (PD-Ghana, GHAFUP, and SDI)	5	c. Industry players (Gold Fields Ghana and Newmont Ghana)	5
d. Community-based interest groups (GACEED, GAMADA, OCADA)	3	d. Development Partners (USAID/Ghana Mission).	3
Total	13	Total	13

Source: Researcher's Own Research Design (June-August, 2014).

3.5 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Data in social science research can be referring to both values of qualitative and quantitative variables belonging to a set of items. It is an observable implication of the research questions we want to answer (King et al. 1994: 23). Data or empirical evidence for case study research can be obtained from the following sources; documents and archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artifacts and the use of any of these sources requires the researcher developing strategic and exceptional skills to collect reliable data (Yin, 2009: 98). Face-to-face interviews, direct observations, and documentary review were the main data collection instruments used in the field. All these methods focused on gaining a better understanding of current knowledge, functioning and the perception of the stakeholders, the role and level of citizen participation in the design and implementation of development projects in the various communities. These are discussed below;

3.5.1 Face-to-Face Personal Interviews

I conducted an in-depth interview with the stakeholders of the two governance networks selected, particularly project coordinators, media and communication officers, monitoring and evaluation officers, and programme monitoring and budgeting officers. I considered the vital roles these persons play concerning the governing processes and functioning of the networks (i.e. the design and implementation of projects). The semi-structured qualitative interview focused on these various participants in the networks and these respondents were very supportive in assisting me during my fieldwork as some later became ‘informants’ rather than mere respondents based on the level of support and the amount of information they made available to me. Another in-depth interview was conducted with the community beneficiaries. I sought the views of assembly members, neighborhood association leaders, and district development planning officers. As indicated earlier the interview was “semi-structured” (Yin, 2009: 102) and that helped me to probe for deeper and comprehensive answers. All the questions raised in the interview guide were open-ended questions (Creswell 2013) and that enabled the respondents to freely express their views, feelings and experiences concerning functioning, design and implementation of projects. I probed further into some answers with other respondents and through the use of face-face interview; I was able to gather deeper and more information for the analysis of the cases.

3.5.2 Direct Observations

Another means data was obtained for the study was through direct observations. This method allowed for accurate, authentic and relevant information to be collected and the data collected was in a natural setting within the context of the case (Yin, 2009: 102). I observed the governance processes of decision-making, interactions, accountability and coordination among stakeholders in the network. I also observed some implemented development projects and other ongoing activities in the slum communities and the Asutifi and Wassa West districts. Observation for the study was among the various stakeholders involved in the implementation of evaluation of projects. This method of obtaining data was used in situations where I could not get some information through interviews and documentary reviews. Direct observation was very useful in this case study because it enabled me to engage with the complex nature of the interaction and collaborative efforts and fully captured the context, attitudes, and experiences of the stakeholders in the networks. Especially this method of obtaining data became very useful in situations where I could not get some information through face-to-face interviews and documentary reviews.

3.5.3 Documentary Review

A wide variety of documents such as organizational and institutional, financial, political, policy reports and legal documents can serve as a major source of secondary data (Creswell, 2013). Documents obtained from well-established institutions are usually reliable for research analysis for the reason that they were collected with more care and patience (Yin, 2009: 103). Yin mentioned that books, memorandum of understanding, legislations, policy guidelines, journal reports, and minutes of meetings, organizational documents, administrative reports, and news publications and official reports, census data, records, statistical data, papers, acts, agreements, and minutes of institutions among others as useful source of information for the investigator (Ibid). The use of documentary sources to complement the interviews and direct observation minimized the problems of bias and poor recalls. Documentary data sources obtained for the study were from various reports of projects implementation and evaluation, policy guidelines, minutes of meetings, organizational documents. Data was obtained from some legislation such as memorandum of understandings (MoU) that created the institutional framework of the networks. In addition, newspapers were obtained from public libraries and articles from the internet. Other documents I reviewed included some annual reports of the PSUP and the GRMA projects. Through the use of documentary review methods, I was able to obtain relevant data related to the roles and functions of the network stakeholders, participation of beneficiary communities, and the legal documents backing the initiation, functioning and implementation of policy projects.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

This study utilized Layder's Adaptive theory approach as the main analytic strategy. To this end analysis of interview and observation data collected from the field was be guided by Layder's Adaptive theory approach which attempts to "combine an emphasis on prior theoretical ideas and models, which feed into and guide the research while at the same time attending to the generation of concepts and theory from the ongoing generation of data" (Layder, 1998: 19). Working through the lens of Adaptive theory methods, the interview data was transcribed to capture the patterns and themes, as well as the discrepancies in order to draw relevant conclusions. Although, I acknowledge the difficulty to transcribe every line or word of text, I ensured that a comprehensive data treatment of all pieces of relevant data to the design features of the governance networks was examined.

Since the data analysis in the qualitative approach is a continuous process from the data collection stage to the write-up of findings (Creswell, 2013: 195), data was analyzed at a certain level as they were collected, especially with observations and interviews in order to enhance the analytical

generalization the study sought to achieved (Yin, 2009: 34). Data collected from the field study were presented through analytical descriptions after transcribing the data into texts, the data was coded into analytical units, key responses was enumerated and thematic patterns mapped to facilitate the analysis process. This facilitated a relationship between the data and the variables to be accordingly established through interpretation of statements, observation, and review of documents. The results of my study were presented in a narrative text, simple computations and logical reasoning, and tables in order to make meaning much more clearly. Direct quotations of respondents were made to support some important points as part of analysis of data. The ‘triangulation of data’ (Yin, 2009) sources helped to ensure that descriptions were very close to the actual responses given by respondents. Also, particular attention was given to field notes which enabled accurate reflections of issues.

3.7 ISSUES REGARDING THE QUALITY OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

One challenge or limitation to this present study was how issues of validity, reliability and generalizations can be enhanced. This becomes very crucial for consideration because of the criticisms levelled against the qualitative approach. The qualitative approach as argued comes short in addressing these essential requirements of a quality scientific research (i.e. the qualitative approach fails to address issues of validity, reliability, and generalization). These issues are addressed below. It is therefore necessary to address these issues since every research is built on objectives and the researcher at the end of the study evaluates whether goals have been achieved or not. Hence, it is important to incorporate into the research design some standard aspects to draw relevant conclusions even if the goals of the study are more towards exploring than testing explanations. Yin outlined four logical tests one can use to assess the quality of any given research design. These included; construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability (Yin, 2009: 40).

3.7.1 Construct Validity

Construct validity is concerned with establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied (Yin 2009: 40). This study sought to assess and examine the behaviour and attitudes of individuals in a collectivity; hence establishing the exact operational measures for the concepts was quite a great challenge. However, I covered two important steps to enhance the construct validity in the study. First, I selected specific terms that are to be studied and demonstrated that the selected criteria of this changes do indeed replicate the specific types of changes that have been

selected. This study started with posed research questions and a comprehensive literature review and theoretical framework have been drawn to address those posed research questions. Effectiveness of governance network was the dependent variable in the study. Five independent variables were drawn in line with the research objectives and theoretical approach to measure the dependent variable. After that each of the variables has been specifically operationalized for actual measurement that increases the construct validity of the study. Additionally, a clear and concise definition and meaning of key concepts like governance networks, collaboration, participation, deliberations, accountability, and learning were provided at the initial stages of the interview. This helped provide general understanding of the research problem and enabled respondents to answer effectively the interview questions.

The second way of improving construct validity according to Yin is the “use of multiple sources of data and respondents” and also having “the draft case study report reviewed by the key informants” (Yin, 2009: 41). The study collected data from several sources like in-depth face-to-face personal interviews, direct observations, documents review, and ultimately method of triangulation of respondents was applied to increase data validity.

3.7.2 Internal Validity

Internal validity has to do with establishing a causal relationship in a study, “whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions” (Yin, 2009: 40). As already indicated, due to the exploratory nature of this study internal validity was not so relevant as compared to explanatory or causal case studies. Notwithstanding that the study aimed to show how change in one variable cause change in other variable. The study attempted to see the impacts of collaboration, participation, deliberations, accountability, and learning on the effectiveness of governance networks. This study looked in to the effect of these variables on the effectiveness of governance networks relation to sustainability of good processes.

3.7.3 External Validity

External validity refers to establishing the domain to which this study finding can be generalized beyond the immediate case study (Yin, 2009: 40). It has to do with replication of results, which is when another investigator adopts the same procedures used by this study; the same results will be produced. This study aimed to make analytic generalization rather than statistical generalization from the selected cases. These cases were selected to reflect different sizes, types of problem focus,

and stakeholder types to be more representative. Therefore, I think the findings from this study are generalizable to other network-based governance programmes that exhibit same features in Ghana. In this case most of these networks should exhibit greater interdependence between and among actors and organization, frequent interaction between the network participants, a game-like interaction deeply rooted in trust, and a high degree of autonomy from the central government. Aside generalization in Ghana, I also believe the study findings can be generalized for networks in some developing countries to some extent since most developing countries have some common characteristics.

3.7.4 Reliability

This research aimed to follow proper scientific rules and procedures to reduce errors and biases in order to enhance the reliability of the results of the study. Reliability which according to Yin has to do with demonstrating that the operation of a study such as data collection procedure- can be repeated, with the same result (Yin, 2009: 40). One way of ensuring repeatability of the study results is making the whole investigation process public or documented. That is specific procedures like data collection, analysis and interpretation should be made public. In other words, the procedures should be documented (King et al, 1994: 8). In this regard a case study protocol which is included in the appendix will enhance the reliability of the study results. To enhance reliability in the study, interview guide used are attached and detailed data collection procedures are described so that it can easily be replicated by other researcher. Responses to the questions posed during the interviews were thoroughly by written down and accurately recorded.

3.8 KEY CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED DURING THE FIELDWORK

There were some potential challenges I encountered during the data collection. Key among included;

- The first challenge faced was struggling to arrange appointment with government officials especially at the ministries and experts at EPA and this slowed down the process. The unwillingness of the community leaders and residents especially in Ga Mashie and Old Fadama to grant the interviews because they thought my interest was to reveal their life experiences to the world regardless of my efforts to convince them about the objective of the study also delayed the entire process as. Their late consent to grant the interviews upon clearly explaining my research purpose to them delayed the interview process.

- The representatives of the NGOs and the industry players always protect their organizations and afraid of providing answer to me instead of describing the actual governance practice. To overcome this, I always cross check the information and the method of triangulation were applied here. At the same time, I tried to convince them to understand that 100% percent anonymity and confidentiality would be maintained.
- The third challenge was translation of the interview questions into different local Ghanaian languages in the communities. The case study involved different organizations and participants' spread across different regions and communities with different local languages, yet the study was conducted by a researcher who has a limited knowledge of their local language. Even though the interviews were conducted in English, I had to be assisted by a translator and this took a long time and extra care to ensure clear communication to respondents to ensure that clear meanings and the exact descriptions of variables and concepts were lost, either by the interviewer or the interviewee.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE STUDY

Consistent with most research, the ethical and confidentiality requirements of the social science research required me to preserve the anonymity of my respondents, and save for a general description of their stakeholder categories in the networks. This study adhered to the ethical standards in social science research. This was particularly done in order to safeguard and protect the rights of respondents and to ensure that no information was taken wrongly, so as to enhance the reliability and credibility of the study's findings. Since the study involved slum dwellers who are largely stigmatized by the rest of Ghanaian society due to their poor socio-economic background and living conditions and as such passive sufferers of constant threat of eviction, throughout the study when analyzing and discussing my data, I accordingly reference interviews in the text only by providing an identifier number and the stakeholder category of the interviewee.

As indicated earlier any research that deals with data collection and involves contact with human populations involves must adhere to ethical considerations (Creswell, 2013). In this regard some of the ethical issues considered in the study included voluntary participation, human integrity, informed consent, respect for confidentiality and anonymity (Ibid). Also, to promote the integrity of the research and guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organizations during data collection, I ensured respondents were protected and developed trust with the respondents. That is, to enhance the trustworthiness and reliability of the study, I obtained a

recommendation letter from Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen which was sent to the network stakeholders in Ghana to allow me access data needed for the study. The recommendation letter was made available to all the network stakeholders, organizations visited and participants in order to introduce myself to them. In all instances during the face-to-face interview where voice recorder was used, prior respondents consent was sought first. An informed consent was used in which I explained the purpose of the study and the reason for their selection for the study and assured them of their personal integrity and anonymity.

3.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the methods used in gathering data and the way data was analyzed in the study. The chapter highlighted that the study approach adopted was qualitative. The focus was on identifying factors and context that may affect the effective delivery of governance networks. Face-to-face interviews and direct observations were the primary sources of data for the study. Structured open-ended questions were used in soliciting views from the respondents. The secondary sources of data were mainly obtained through documentary sources particularly projects evaluation reports, regulations, policy documents, memorandum of understandings, and minutes of meetings. Other secondary sources of data such as the use of the internet, articles, newspapers and books were also discussed. The methodology used in gathering data sought to mainly answer the study's research questions. It is important to highlight that some methodological lessons have been learnt during data collection and the entire study period. The triangulation of sources of data and persons facilitated in checking the accuracy and reliability of the data gathered. As I tried to cross check one source with another, it enhanced the validity and reliability of data collected for analysis. The use of the qualitative approach made the study much more flexible, as there was no strict procedure followed in gathering data for the study. Through the qualitative approach flexibility, a very friendly atmosphere was created between me and the respondents where they freely expressed themselves in answering the study's research questions.

The next chapter focuses on environmental policy making in Ghana, the role of network-based governance in addressing environmental issues. The brief background and description of the selected case studies (i.e. PSUP and GRMA projects, their objectives, and organizational structures will be presented. Finally, their key characteristics that make them good examples of collaborative network governance and some key achievements are also presented.

CHAPTER FOUR: ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT IN GHANA AND THE CONTEXT OF THE CASES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on state of environmental governance in Ghana as well as the background and objectives of the selected empirical cases under investigation. The chapter first begins with environmental governance in Ghana and some of the major environmental challenges in Ghana. This will be followed by an overview of the objectives, institutional and organizational features of the empirical cases under investigation (i.e. PSUP and GRMA). The chapter concludes with highlights of some of the achievements of PSUP and GRMA in the environmental sector of Ghana.

4.1 CURRENT ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN GHANA

Ghana is a country in Western Africa, bordering the Gulf of Guinea to the south, between Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, and Togo. Ghana has diverse and rich natural resources. The uncontrolled manner of utilization of these natural resources has resulted in reversible and irreversible changes within the environment. Ghana has a long history of attempting to safeguard the environment from being abused by enacting and including environmental protection through appropriate policies. The best result from all of these attempts was the establishment of an organization solely responsible for the environment – the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1994.

The EPA, since its establishment in 1994 has been the Agency with powers to formulate, implements, and evaluates policies and programmes in responds to environment-related demands within the country. With increasing failure of state regulation of the environment through the EPA activities alone, Ghana is facing many environmental challenges across the length and breadth of the country. Lack of proper waste management, slum growth in urban cities, pollution, deforestation, desertification, resource depletion, and land or soil degradation among others are some of the major environmental challenges to sustainable development. To promote sustainable development and to enforce the environmental legislations, the EPA in recent years promotes environmental governance by working in partnership with other stakeholders, especially those non-state organizations and local communities with an equal mandate to plan, implement and enforce certain legislations.

Today, environmental management¹ in Ghana now increasingly takes place within a multi-layered complex polity, formally organized by governments at central, regional and local levels. At all levels, policy-making involves elected public officials as well as powerful public administrators. However, it also involves other actors like lower ranking administrators, interest group organizations, private and public firms, popular movements and citizen groups. This present network-based collaborative approach to environmental management in Ghana dates back to 2000 when comprehensive and concerted efforts were made to design to decentralize the policy making in the environmental sector of Ghana. The goal of environmental governance has been to promote popular participation and ownership of the machinery of government by shifting the process of environmental management from command and control to more collaborative and negotiated processes, and by devolving power, competence and resources to the grassroots levels.

Public-private actors collaboration has become popular instrument in the environmental sector of many countries in recent years since environmental problems and the knowledge needed to deal with them are held at a variety of sources, and the initiation of local, tacit knowledge and experiences are just as important as technical solutions deriving from a body of science. The reality is that as environmental problems happen on different scales and lengths than the policy making process itself and the fact that local solutions do have an impact on global problems likewise global solutions can become local challenges, networking among actors across these levels are believed to offer sustainable solutions to environmental problems (Froestad and Shearing, 2012; Ostrom 2009; Koranteng et al 2008).

As indicated earlier in the beginning chapter governance network has received tremendous recognition for its supposedly effectiveness in creating structural arrangements to include private and other non-actors in the process of public policy making to produce effective and legitimate policy outcomes. (Koranteng et al 2008; Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005: 189). In this regard, environmental problems such as slum growth soil or land degradation, poor waste management are multi-faceted and resource demanding problems and will require the collaboration, flexibility and inclusiveness, decentralized policy making heavily relied upon knowledge generation and process

¹ Environmental management describes the process by which the collection of actors' formulate policies, and put in place structures, resources, and processes are brought to mutual interplay in response to environment-related demands for the achievement environmentally-sustainable development (Holley et al, 2013: 22).

of learning, transparency and institutionalized consensus-building practices to find innovative and legitimate policy outcomes to address it. The next sections give a brief profile, objectives and the organizational characteristics of PSUP and GRMA projects.

4.2 THE CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND TO THE SELECTED CASES

4.2.1 Participatory Slum Upgrading Project (PSUP)

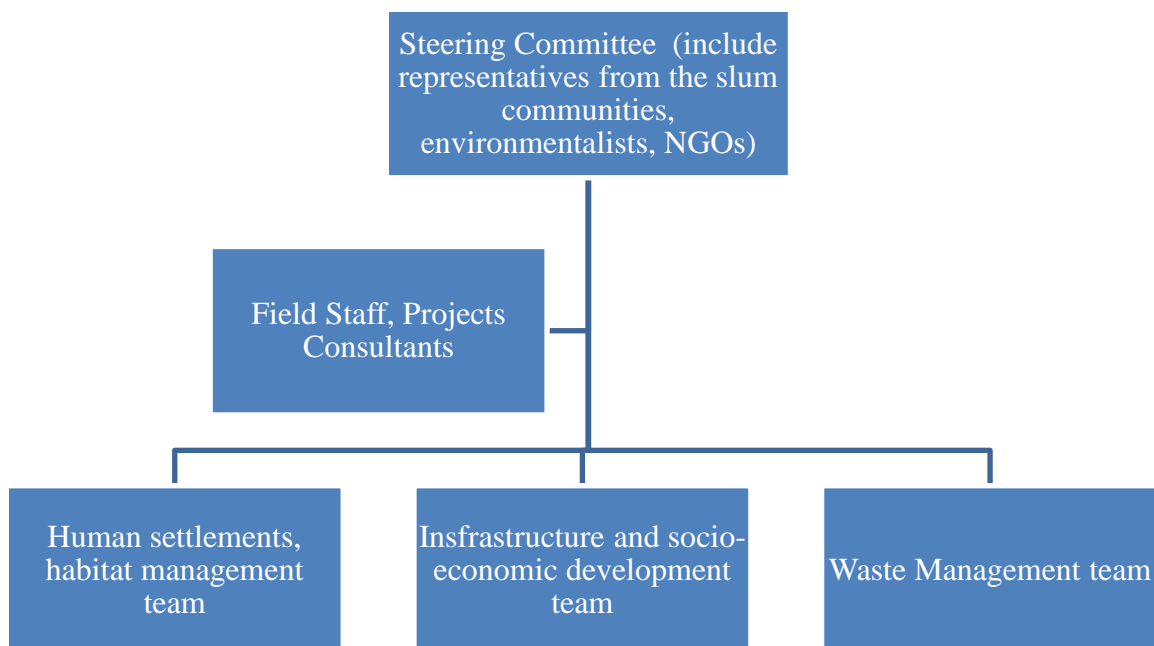
The Participatory Slum Upgrading and Project (PSUP) is work of a collaborative alliance between three non-governmental organizations, the local government, development partners and the residents of Ga Mashie and Old Fadama slum communities to resolve impacts of slums. The PSUP project was initiated consensus-based collaboration among multiple public and private stakeholders having interests in the slum issues and negative impacts of slums in the Accra metropolis. The project has currently grown to have strong and powerful grassroots support base and organization comprise an alliance between the government, residents, NGOs and other civic interest groups such as the Ghana Homeless People's Federation (the Federation) a women's cooperative society representing the poor women's savings group. Over the course of six years, these stakeholders' worked have together within their own stakeholder organizations, and in the wider slum communities, to develop the Participatory Slum Upgrading Agreement (PSUA), which they entered into by signing a memorandum of understanding in the early months of 2003. The PSUP described its agreement as a comprehensive package of linked actions that will achieve five co-equal objectives by 2013:

- a. "Improvement of human settlements and shelter conditions of the poor in urban areas
- b. Enhancement of socio-economic condition of the poor in urban areas
- c. Improvement in the quality of life of the urban poor and marginalized people
- d. Secured quality and affordable shelter to the urban poor and marginalized people.
- e. To explore partnership between poor communities and cities" (PSUP Planning Report, 2003:12).

The alliance formed in 2003 works in partnership with local citizens to find permanent solutions to urban poverty in Ghana through the improvement of human settlements and shelter conditions. The PSUP assistance to poor communities includes, among other things, technical, facilitation and harnessing external resources to augment the resources mobilized by poor communities. The network also focuses on the capacity building of federation communities so that they are better

placed to deal with their challenges. It seeks to contribute towards the attainment of adequate shelter for all with secure tenure and access to essential services in every community in Ghana. The network also works collaboratively with the Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI). The network is now working in six regions out of the ten regions in Ghana.

The Project now operates in four out of five of Ghana's largest urban cities namely Kumasi, Accra, Ashiaman and Takoradi with total funding base of over hundred million cedis (¢100,000,000.00) (Ibid: 3). For the purposes of both effectiveness and relevance the designers and implementers of the project employed several strategies and mechanisms to build long lasting multi-stakeholder commitment in order to provide greater benefits for the affected communities. To achieve these objectives, a set of strategies and activities such as building and organizing poor communities, facilitation of women savings groups in the slum communities and, strengthening the poor communities' negotiation power through capacity building programmes, establishing and providing a support base, bringing together organized communities of the poor and local and or government authorities into a dialogue were adopted.



Source: Modified from PSUP Memorandum of Understanding Document (2003).

Figure 2: Participatory Slum Upgrading Project Organizational Structure

Box 1: Summary of PSUP Objective Statements

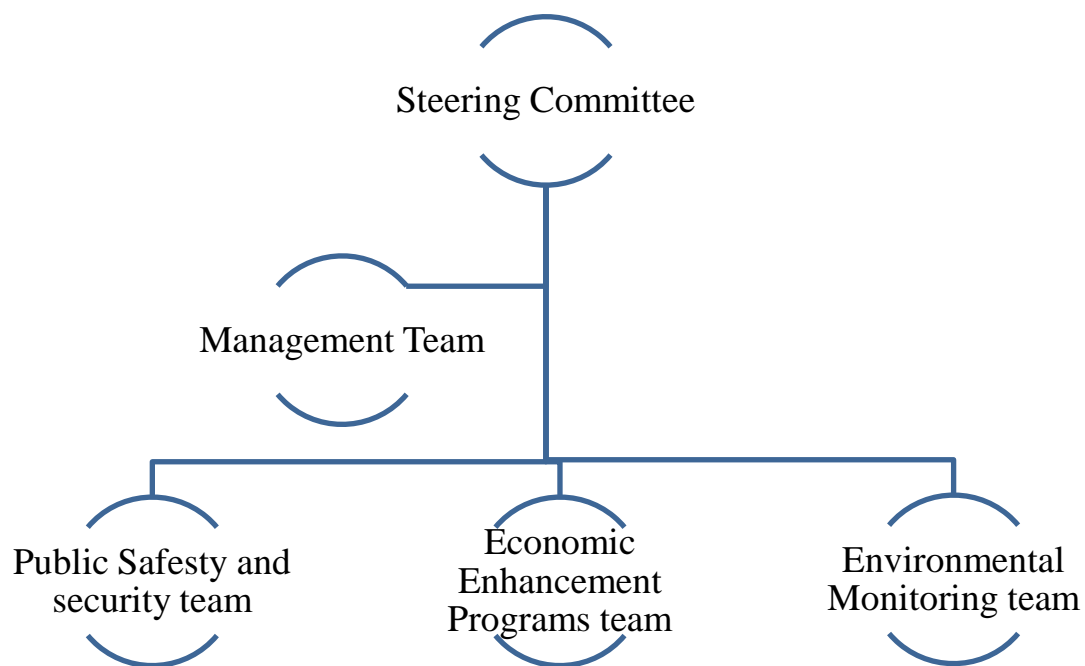
- Improvement of human settlements and shelter conditions of the poor in urban areas
- Enhancement of socio-economic condition of the poor in urban areas
- Improvement in the quality of life of the urban poor and marginalized people
- Secured quality and affordable shelter to the urban poor and marginalized people.
- To explore partnership between poor communities and cities.

Source: Modified from PSUP Memorandum of Understanding Document (2003).

4.2.2 The Ghana Responsible Mining Alliance (GRMA) Project

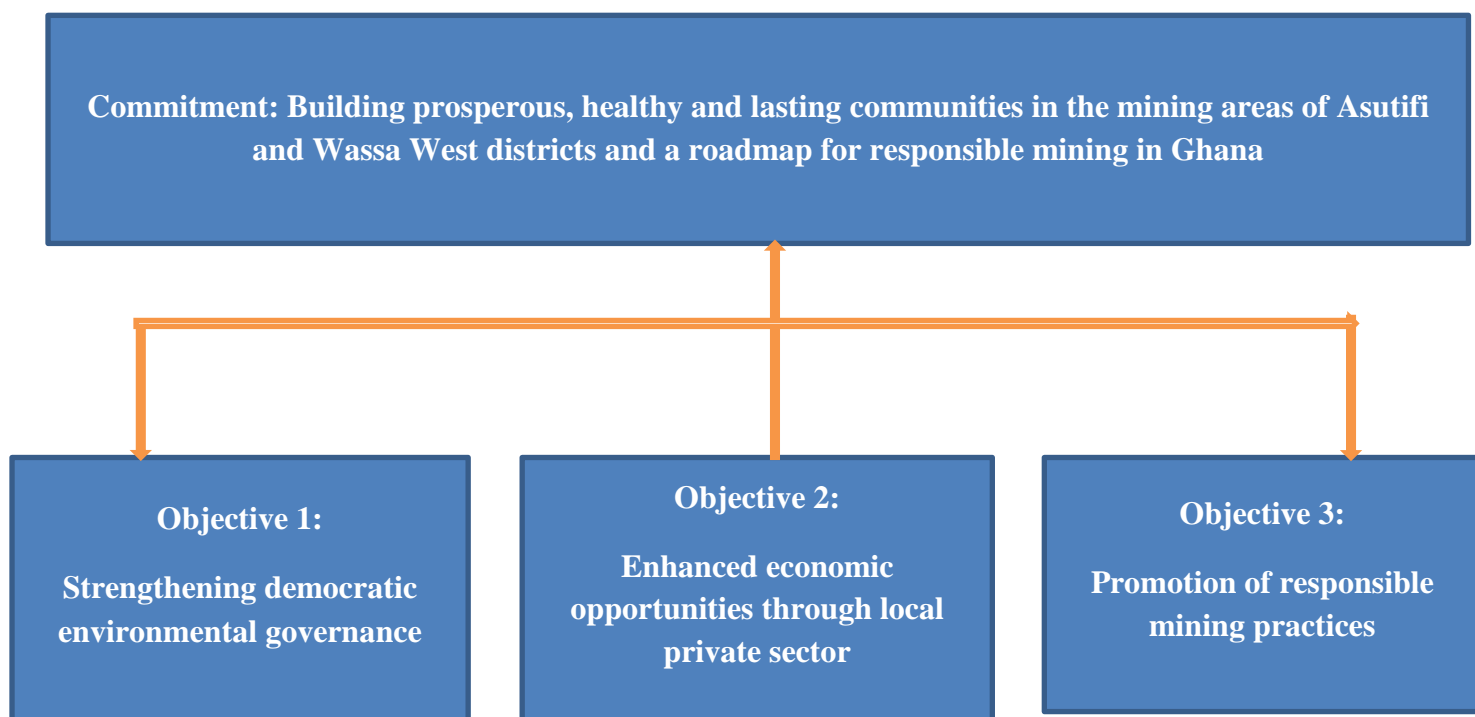
The Ghana Responsible Mining Alliance (GRMA) Project was initiated in May, 2006. The Project is a collaboration of actors' involving the government (ADA and WWDA), development partners (United States Agency for International Development (USAID/Ghana Mission), industry players - Gold Fields Ghana, Newmont Ghana Gold Ltd, and other community-based groups to join and share development expertise, experience and resources in a commitment to build prosperous, healthy and lasting communities in communities affected by mining activities and develop a roadmap for responsible mining activities to safeguard the environment from deterioration (GRMA Collaborative Alliance Planning Document, 2007: 3).

The Project is organized around three objectives; strengthening democratic environmental management through participation, enhancing economic opportunities in the mining communities through local private sector and, the development and promotion of responsible mining practices with the recognition that the call to put local people in the lead for local development through increasing their participation in monitoring and protecting the environment, public safety and human rights are mutually reinforcing factors to improve the living conditions in mining communities (Ibid: 4). The Project recognized that it is only through the involvement of the local people, the mining resettlement communities and traditional authorities that feasible and implementable demonstration projects can be developed to make mining communities stronger, prosperous, and healthier but not weaker. Through this partnership it is believed mining companies can use those local experiences to raise the standards for mining in Ghana



Source: Modified from GRMA Document (Collaborative Alliance Planning Document, 2007).

Figure 3: Ghana Responsible Mining Alliance Project Organizational Structure



Source: Modified from GRMA Document (Collaborative Alliance Planning Document, 2007).

Figure 4: Ghana Responsible Mining Alliance Commitments and Operational Objectives

The GRMA draft work plan document agreed on by stakeholders in May, 2006 provides a summary of each objective and associated strategies, implementing partners and funding envisioned over a four-year term, 2006-2010. The draft work plan is a living document intended to guide decisions as the network deepens the understanding and relationships among stakeholders, with implementing partners, and with the local people, networks and institutions of Asutifi and Wassa West districts and the Ghana mining industry. In September 2006 the stakeholders consulted with representatives of local and national government, civic organizations and mining resettlement communities, traditional authorities, the donor and development community, implementing partners and the mining industry (GRMA Planning Report, 2007:10). These consultations and formal workshops conducted at national and district levels produced a vetted work plan that provides the best opportunities for making lasting impacts on the lives of beneficiary communities.

Table 3: Key Features that make PSUP and GRMA Projects good examples of Governance Networks

Dimensions	The PSUP and GRMA Projects
The actors' interdependency and necessity of exchange for resources	A measure of agreement existed among the actors. Participants had resources but they were limited and basic relationship was consultative, deliberative and continuous interaction.
Diversity of Participants	Actors included political elites, bureaucrats, team of experts, women's group, and NGOs and community members.
Interactions and continuity	The interactions between participating actors were found to take the form of negotiating shared objectives and purposes. Negotiations were found to be embedded in deliberative process facilitating mutual trust, learning, and understanding.
Production of a public purpose	Both PSUP and GRMA were observed to have defined set plans, visions, values, rules, policies, and actions to address their various policy problems.
Degree of autonomy	Both Projects were found to enjoy some degree of autonomy from the state and are not directly accountable to the state. This is because they were found to <i>self-organizing</i> and <i>self-regulating</i> . Participants take their own decisions based on their own rules and institutionalized framework.

Source: Based on Field Data (June-August, 2014).

4.3 SOME KEY SUCCESSES AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF PSUP AND GRMA PROJECTS TO DATE

4.3.1 Awareness Creation

International development partners, national and local authorities willing to participate in the programmes have been sensitized on the need for an integrated and collaborative approach to urbanization challenges and issues of poverty reduction to ensure sustainability. Through the activities of PSUP and GRMA, the government and city authorities have become aware of the variety of tools, strategies and approaches, as well as the importance of collaborating with all stakeholders and integrating all the elements of sustainability including social, environmental and economic development dimensions in the format of a pro-poor approach to reduce urban poverty in Ghana. Above all, the importance of addressing the challenges of urbanization and urban poverty issues in a collaborative and participative way, moving away from the disconnected sector policy guidelines has been realized. The PSUP and GRMA assessment of needs and capacity-building gaps in the various slum and mining communities in which they operate has already proven its success in raising the awareness of urban poverty issues in a systematic and holistic way than in the past (Interviews with key Respondents, June – August, 2014).

4.3.2 Participatory and Inclusive Planning

Through the assessment of needs and capacity-building gaps in the various slum and mining communities by PSUP and GRMA, urban poverty and other challenges of urbanization have gained greater visibility in participating communities and the country at large. Local affected citizens and other important community pressure groups are included in the deliberation and planning urban development policies. Through the high visibility of PSUP and GRMA projects and the easy access to urban development priorities by local citizens, local knowledge and information about the problem are incorporated into national development policies such as Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) and this has accelerated the commitment and awareness of the government to continue funding some of the intervention projects to reduce urban poverty (Based on interviews with key respondents, June – August, 2014).

4.3.3 Advocacy

The initiation of PSUP and GRMA according to respondents from both programmes has led to the identification of appropriate priority projects in each of the communities to reduce poverty. For instance, respondents pointed to the development and implementation of local capacity-building programmes in the affected communities for improved urban governance, participatory and collaborative planning. This local capacity-building initiative was found to be still ongoing in the selected communities. Respondents from both cases state that they have been strengthen the will and commitment of all stakeholders to establish participatory planning tool in overcoming the often strong sector division of national and local decision-making processes which are hindering sustainable pro-poor urban development (Interview with key Respondents, June – August, 2014). PSUP and GRMA are also proud of and appreciate their support to decentralization processes by applying a bottom-up governance process to address the problem of urban poverty.

It is important to emphasize that that the PSUP and GRMA projects are still contributing to the establishment of a culture of participatory planning and urban governance that is responsive, inclusive and transparent. However, there is a strong concern from both cases on the mobilization of resources for implementation of planned pro-poor projects and accelerating capacity-building programmes for job creation. Participants both cases wish a stronger support from the government, development partners, and other affected offices and actors to enhance effectiveness.

4.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the nature of environmental policy-making in Ghana. It also highlighted some of the key environmental problems, its causes and previous failed attempts successive governments have made towards addressing environmental challenges. Though PSUP and GRMA had made a lot of efforts in improving the lives of slum dwellers and responsible mining practices, however not much has been achieved in the areas of local capacity building and sufficient skills. PSUP and GRMA Working with complex issues and operating in a complex environment, availability of information and technical know-how among the participants are of great importance. The same are management skills for operating in such a complex domain. Many of their projects still rely heavily on central government funds and donor supports to enable them execute policies. This has challenged the extent of their effectiveness and should be address properly.

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF STUDY FINDINGS

(Collaboration, Participation, and Deliberations)

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to presents and discuss findings on three variables of the study (collaboration, participation, and deliberations) on the extent they affected embedding good processes for building sustainable results in PSUP and GRMA Projects in Ghana. The findings are based on the data gathered through in-depth face-to-face interviews with the network stakeholders', direct observations and documentary reviews on the independent variables during the fieldwork. The findings aim to address the following empirical research questions;

Central Question: What are the sources and mechanisms of governance network effectiveness?

- A. What are the conditions essential for possible cooperation in governance networks?
- B. What kinds and levels of participation necessary for effective governance process?
- C. How and to what extent those better resourced and well placed participants such as elected officials and industry players influence the decision-making process?
- D. To what extent the decisions and policies that go on in PSUP and GRMA Projects are made subject to accountability?
- E. How, when, and to what extent network stakeholders can gather, analyze, learn on information on their progress in practice?

For the purposes of clarity and highlighting the extent of effectiveness of the two cases, I have explicitly divided the discussions into separate sections for PSUP and GRMA projects and whenever relevant, I indicate when things are for both the two cases. Where possible I have also included quotes that were taken from the fieldwork data to make things more concise and vivid and most of these discussions reflect my own observations and thoughts and that readers can interpret in their own way and agree or disagree with my views.

5.1 COLLABORATION

As I indicated in the theoretical chapter, one dimension of effective governance network is having robust longer-term multi-stakeholder commitments. This typically occurs where there is a genuine inter-dependence, and there is a genuine sharing of resources, power, and risks (Holley et al, 2013). During the data collection (fieldwork), the study assessed how the studied network programmes met the requirement for two or more participants cooperating to address environmental issues they find

difficult to resolve alone. Based on this objective I examined how the stakeholders did go about forming the networks and how that affected the collaborative process. The study also examined the factors contributed to reducing the high transaction cost that can undermine cooperation. For the purpose of structured and clear discussions, the findings are presented separately on the two cases.

5.1.1 Respondents Perspectives on how they did form the Projects

My experience from the fieldwork revealed that both PSUP and GRMA Projects were initiated and designed in a ‘bottom-up’ manner, where participants agreed to work together in more intensive forms over time to address environmental issues affecting the slum communities. These multi-stakeholder groups agreed, through a formal Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) though not legally binding, to support the principles, undertakings and projects included in the Agreement to resolve the environmental issues. It was revealed through my interview with the Network officials that, the initiation and formation of the collaborative platforms started from interactions in the affected communities. According to them:

“The discussions were initiated by communities’ authorities but was professionally developed by specialist facilitators, and adequately resourced over a period of years”.

The collaboration in both cases were found to encompass local government agencies, NGOs, environmental groups, agricultural and other business interests, community-based groups, and citizen groups. My respondents made me aware that regular training and workshop programmes were provided in the principles of collaboration and attention was also given to defining participants’ general shared interests, before getting into the details of specific actions.

Like PSUP, GRMA also has more or less strict procedure for interactions among the participants. Various forms of interaction platforms have found and regular meeting intervals. The hierarchical structure of GRMA is much more flexible like PSUP where the network enjoyed maximum flexibility. The condition is much better in the involvement community-based groups and residents. All these were found to positively affect the availability of information and know-how among the participants which were of great importance to their relative success. In this regard, officials in the affected communities’ responded that:

“Even though authorities intervene to give the governance process direction and coordination, at the same time there great deal of flexibility with less rigid organizational structures”.

The study did not find any significant differences with regards to how the networks emerged or initiated. The above quotes indicate that the easy penetration by officials to give the governance

process direction and relying on professional facilitators greatly reduced the frustrations and difficulties in getting actors to the collaborative table. What this quotes and observations mean is that the bottom-up manner in which both programmes were formed appropriately urged a greater role for power-sharing and democratic participation by community actors in the collaborative programme. Based on these findings, one can conclude that way and manner in which is initiated or formed significantly influence and change the dynamics of the network. The findings revealed that discussions for the need of the collaborative platforms in the light of land management practices were initiated by community and local government authorities. I found high levels of stakeholder support and enthusiasm for actors to cooperate.

5.1.2 Mechanisms of reducing/minimizing high transaction costs for cooperation

It was observed that both PSUP and GRMA Projects were confronted with certain difficulties in getting the actors on board. However, while these challenges were fatal to their success, they were minimized or at very best overcome through the mechanisms the designers and implementers developed. Findings from the study show that the established funding schemes and diverse incentives as building of trust were important in reducing the high transaction costs for cooperating. Findings on each of these mechanisms are presented below.

a. The role of Funding and Incentives

The findings from both programmes reveal that both PSUP and GRMA were designed to provide relevant incentives to bring stakeholders to the negotiation table. The design of PSUP for example, offers bulk central and local government funding which acted as important inducement for all affected and relevant stakeholders to cooperate in the slum upgrading projects. The success of PSUP and GRMA was seen to have been influenced by the active steering and funding role play by the local governments that provided strong incentives for other relevant and affected stakeholders to come to the collaborative table. Also, the effective relationship building in both cases enhanced the trust among the stakeholders. Findings from the interviews data show that, the significant funding from government contributed to the success of PSUP. These factors were found to have contributed in reducing the high transaction costs for cooperation and the collective action dilemmas that usually cause network failure. According to the Executive Director of EPA, Ghana

“Forming long lasting networks generally have high transaction costs in terms of time, commitment, and energy to deal with, so the benefits stakeholders will enjoy need to be substantial. The project has streamlined process and broader mandate was acquired to break

the deadlock on major issues to motivate affected stakeholders to participate in seeking broad-based solutions to slums and urban poverty in general”.

A respondent from PSUP made me aware of the impact of funding and other in-kind incentives on building long lasting networks. This is what the Executive Director of PD-Ghana said on funding and other incentives:

“The substantial benefits that stakeholders enjoyed in the programme in the form of funding and other technical assistance ensured genuine commitment of all stakeholders and there were no defensive or non-cooperative strategies from the participants to free-ride. So these were very important strategies we used to enhance cooperation”.

The Community Development Manager of Gold Fields Ghana, a stakeholder in the GRMA programme also explained that:

“The stakeholders in the project agree to work together to support and develop development activities of mutual interest in furtherance of the goals of this MoU. For example we anticipate combined financial and in kind support to total at over USD \$9.0 million”.

This was similar to what the DPO in Asutifi district commented on the existence of substantial funding and other benefits in the GRMA programme:

“The USAID/Ghana Mission alone provides support (both in cash and in kind) in an amount not less than USD\$850,000 over a budget period of four years (June 2006 to May 2010), for such projects as may be agreed to by the stakeholders. USAID/GDA similarly provides support (both in cash and in kind) in an amount not less than USD\$400,000 over a budget period of four years (2006 to 2010), for such projects as may be agreed to by the stakeholders”.

The above quotations indicate the strong financial and technical support and public administrators’ active role which key in motivating other relevant stakeholders to participate. The incentives from government and the USAID/Ghana Mission technical support have played significant role. The active presence of the government and the USAID meant that those who are engaged and participating in the governance process had strong motivation and commitment to share and exchange experiences, resources or to bring about significant changes. I will say there is genuine commitment from all stakeholders which has encouraged the coming together of the relevant and key affected stakeholders to come to the collaborative table to share ideas, negotiate and agree on common plans of action to ensure proper mining standards. The study findings indicate strong

political mandate PSUP and GRMA elicited from the central government and donor NGOs. The steering role of government through the provision of substantial funding assisted in giving the governance process direction. The findings confirm that elected officials and public administrators involvement in both cases provided some sort of leadership in coordinating the involved actors as well as in building the mutual trust. This were observed to greatly influence the stabilization of both and GRMA in finding acceptable solutions to the problems and to fund the strategies arising from joint efforts of the stakeholders. This further suggests that political leadership was indispensable for ensuring the sustainability of PSUP and GRMA Projects.

The study findings also reveal that negative incentive to increase the transaction cost for not cooperating were also used to facilitate the good processes. I observed in the GRMA Project that the ADA and WWDA encouraged the use of community of pressure to bring the mining industries to the table to engage in cooperative arrangements in resolving the environmental issues. According to the DDPO in Asutifi, these pressures included legal objections by the affected mining communities to development applications and the use of the mass media to shame the mining companies and to challenge them to adopt proper mining standards to safeguard the environment. Beyond funding and incentives, the study found that both projects offered relief from high transaction costs for cooperating. For example, under the GRMA the USAID/Ghana provided information about mining regulatory standards and acted as the lead organization (broker) between the communities and the mining industries. My observations also revealed that PSUP was also designed the harness government agencies and international development partners as sponsors to help with operational and organizational costs. This was confirmed when I interviewed the Executive Director of PD-Ghana:

“Yes I see the importance of the support provided in the PSUP programme including allowance of USD 20,000 from the EPA and MESTI annually and approximately USD 50,000 annually from the SDI for covering workshop costs such as travelling and time as well as other in-kind support from government officers”.

The above quotes indicate that there were substantial financial and other in-kind incentives in both programmes. Findings from the two cases (PSUP and GRMA) revealed that central and local government grants as well as technical assistance were present; however, this theme was more substantial and favourable in PSUP than GRMA. The presence of these financial and other in-kind incentives motivated and encouraged all relevant stakeholders to be engaged in the governance

process. In other words, transaction cost for participating were seen to be substantially reduced and mitigated which affected the performance of both cases (PSUP and GRMA) positively.

b. The role and importance of Building Trust

The study findings reveal the benefits of building trust to mitigate collective action dilemmas. In this study I examined trust as when stakeholders are confident that other participants keep their promises, treat each other fairly, and show concern for the welfare of the disadvantaged slum population as well as the affected mining communities. The study findings suggest that trust enhanced greater cooperation as well as increasing the likelihood of agreement and implementation by participants. The study observed that both programmes were designed to incorporate a range of mediation, negotiation, and facilitation processes to build trust. The study findings have also shown that the good process and outcomes of governance networks require trust. I observed that trust was rarely the starting point in PSUP and GRMA projects, but it was earned and enhanced through the confidence-building process. I observed that the stakeholders developed productive relationships, become comfortable with their joint endeavours, and this helped in achieve some early wins. The study findings have demonstrated that building relationships is the foundation on which trust may develop in network-based governance. An officer of AMA, stakeholder in PSUP project said to me that trusting each other in the process was very crucial if they could succeed when I asked him the question what way did trust assisted in the ensuring sustainability of the network and achieving positive outcomes? This was remarked from the interview:

“Certainly as in every multi-stakeholder activity we had the initial challenges of even bringing the people together for us to agree on issues because people come from different backgrounds with different interest. But for PSUP our operation is based on trust, you know people have come together as urban poor groups, slum dwellers and they commit themselves to the deliberations in developing plans to tackle slum growth and urban poverty in general”.

This was similar to the comments made by the District Development Planning officer in the Asutifi district:

“You know in every group activity trusting one another are very important. Initially getting the commitment of local residents in resettlement communities’ was very difficult because of the several talks but no show attitude of government to help protect their farm lands from illegal mining activities. But with the awareness we created about the environmental issues and the need to work together, not only the local citizens but government, mining companies and other environmental interest groups cooperated. So my brother you know the whole idea

about the GRMA Project is opening up and letting the people in the community feel part of the planning and implementation plans so people can hold duty bearers accountable and should know what pertains in their communities”.

The above quotations and the broad discussions suggest that trust and confidence building appeared to have provided opportunities for helping stakeholders show respect to each other, and contribute their fair share of the discussions. All these processes were found to have positively impacted on achieving better relationships and social networks to resolve their antagonisms and conflicts in the development and implementation of their plans. The findings from this study have confirmed that mistrust between the stakeholders may likely to undermine the sustainability of the good processes of a governance network.

The above findings and quotations further support Klijn et al (2010) assertion that the confidence-building process in governance networks is very essential if the network will be sustainable over the long period of time and to produce positive outcomes. The findings suggest that trust building is so crucial for ensuring effectiveness in robust longer-term multi-stakeholder commitments such as PSUP and GRMA. The interviews with the stakeholders confirm that a well collaborative process has positive impact on the effectiveness (success) of governance networks. The findings shows that the strong government steering and funding roles and trust served as incentives to increased commitment of all affected stakeholders to cooperate. These shows there were substantial success in realizing effective collaborative process in both cases. This positively affected the general performance (success) of both PSUP and GRMA in terms of the quality, sustainability and the coherence of PSUP and GRMA Projects.

On the broad terms, the study found that while both programmes have brought about some level of cooperation between the relevant stakeholders and members of mining communities, have improved their relationships through the awareness it created which aided in building some level of trust in their relationships, they were also able to produce substantial effective action in achieving significant level of desired outcomes (i.e. achieved substantial progress in promoting the sustainability of the environment). It was observed in both cases that the adequate skills possessed by the different stakeholders in bridging and linking the different experiences, expertise, and knowledge among the multi-sectoral stakeholder groups was important contributing factor for long-term coherence in PSUP and GRMA. Finally, the study findings revealed that the leadership that existed within the networks was important factor that contributed to their successful performance. I observed in both PSUP and GRMA that leadership does not rely on only one person or group of

few powerful stakeholders. I found out that important leadership capabilities such as bridging skills (i.e. linking to external resources); mobilization skills that are critical feature of purpose-driven collectives were effectively embedded in the two cases.

On this basis, high levels of stakeholder support were found to be expressed in the two cases. More importantly, PSUP like GRMA were able to generally improved the conditions in Ga Mashie and Old Fadama slum communities, for example, better regulation of building habitats, reduced poverty levels, improved waste management systems, improved pollution control, control and stakeholder communications were expressed in the first five-year of review (AMA, 2012: 15–19). Similarly, the environmental challenges in the mining communities (Asutifi and Wassa West districts) were generally improved and maintained, for example, better regulation of mining activities to protect farm lands and habitats, improved water and air pollution control, and stakeholder communications by GRMA. All these findings indicate that both PSUP and GRMA have been able to avoid the costs of litigation and stalemate and this led to their substantial success in building robust long-term multi-stakeholder commitments.

5.2 PARTICIPATION

Many scholars have reckoned that environmental management and development projects at the local level in general should involve more participation by community residents who are the beneficiaries (For example Holley et al, 2013). Participation is therefore essential condition of network effectiveness, especially tapping different local knowledge and experiences about the issues and at the same time enhancing accountability. The aim of participation is to release power and include local citizens into the governance system.

In this study, I interviewed both beneficiaries and various NGO representatives and governments officials engaged in the PSUP project to capture their views and perception about participation in the programme. For structured and precise discussion purpose, I examined participation from two angles. The first level is determination of membership with the view of finding out how membership determination affected the extent community-based groups and other residents could participate in the governance process. The second aspect of participation was assessed by examining the ways stakeholders seek to communicate, cooperate, and interact with wider communities. That is, how the stakeholders cooperate and coordinate activities, all these analysis aimed at examining the extent the level of participation could affect performance. Findings from study are discussed separately on each programme below.

5.2.1 Determination of Membership

A. Determination of participants in PSUP Project

Findings from the study show that the PSUP programme was designed around flexible processes that promoted self-selecting voluntary participation as opposed to other restricted mechanisms such as elections. The study observed that membership in PSUP was purely on voluntary basis. The flexible voluntary participation that existed in this project was found to have led to the increased community members' involvement in both networks. My findings reveal that PSUP ensured significant inclusion of state and non-state actors, environmental interests groups, community-based groups and other stakeholders. Almost all the respondents interviewed reported genuine inclusiveness. For example, the EPA was having representatives across both programmes. This is what a respondent said in relation to determination of membership:

“Participation is on voluntary basis and the whole process is about inclusiveness of all relevant stakeholders’ from all segment of society right from negotiations, planning, implementation, and to evaluation stages. You know to put local people in the lead means that it is critical that the projects to improve slums and urban poverty must meet the real need for the slum and informal people to want it and understand its value. Therefore, not only one organization or NGO can provide the solutions to address these issues so a combination of actors should cooperate to exchange resources and apply different knowledge for significant and impacting results”.

It was reported that the organizers of the programme established low-cost and credible participation systems that allowed elected representatives in the slum areas to engage and contribute. The study found that the holding of regular community public meetings allowed nearly the entire affected residents to participate. The respondents reported that those community leaders appointed were happy with their responsibilities and maintained good communication with the public. The programmes officer in OCADA, a community-based organization in Ga Mashie remarked that:

“We rely on open meetings, public notices, and the existing community networks for effective participation and communication. Mr. Researcher, I personally think that the broader goal of PSUP was to promote equality in participation and to encourage participation from all affected and relevant individuals and organizations, including the socially disadvantaged slum dwellers”.

The interview with the Director of Operations in GAMADA also made me aware of the involvement of community-based groups and the active role they play in the planning and

implementation of restoration projects in the slum communities. The report from him suggests that communication and interaction among stakeholders took the form of both bottom-up and top-down interactions. This was remarked from the interview:

“The inclusion of public administrators, environmental interest groups, residents, and relevant community-based groups has potentially given a voice to PSUP in advancing decisions and projects and securing funding for their implementation”.

The above quotations show that mobilization of the slum dwellers was observed to be vital for participation. Findings from this case have revealed that the potential membership in the PSUP programme was quite vast. The boundaries on participation could be drawn narrowly or broadly in relation to the overall number of participants and the range of groups may be included in a governance network for successful performance. The findings further indicate membership in PSUP was very open. Stakeholders were diverse involving local governments, environmental managers, environmental interest groups and citizen groups. This finding confirms the established hypothesis in the literature that a network that is very open and diverse may be more likely to succeed, while a closed network (participation based on voting and or selection) may make efficient problem solving difficult. I found that explicit agreements were reached about the organization of the cooperation. The agreements for these programmes were found to consciously envisage the possibility of diverting from the plan, in the event that it proved advantageous to do so.

The flexibility in PSUP can also mean that stakeholders were enabled to abandon the programme if necessary to protect their interests. Contrary to the findings from several case studies (see for example Holley et al 2013 and Sabatier et al 2005) time and financial constraints were not found to be significant impediments of participation in PSUP. The study also found that skills and resources such as availability of information and know-how among the participants were of great importance. The same are the management skills for operating in such a complex domain. I found that all stakeholders attend regular collaborative meetings and workshops to negotiate and develop plans and projects including regular monitoring on the progress of implementation. There is every indication that the affected communities were not left behind, citizens were to large extent given the chance to participate in the determination, design, implementation, and monitoring. The criteria of voluntary participation positively affected the effectiveness of PSUP due to the fact that the criteria allow greater inclusion.

B. Determination of Participants in GRMA Project

Unlike the PSUP, GRMA made skills and capacities of stakeholders' special requirement and consideration for participation. The findings revealed that the power the programme accorded the USAID/Ghana as suitable for ensuring quality and effectiveness in implementation. It was observed that this effectively gave the USAID (lead organization) the authority to select participants though in consultation with the powerful mining industry players (Newmont and Gold Fields Ghana). This finding was confirmed with the remarks made by the Community Development manager of Gold Fields Ghana when I asked her to comment on how membership determined in GRMA. She remarked that:

“Though the GRMA does not categorically specify any special skills and resource requirement for participation, the MoU does provide that the selection of participants shouldn't merit, and the participants as whole must have the skills and capacities to promote the goals of the programme and fulfil its accountabilities duties”.

This meant that it was very difficult if not impossible for local citizens and other relevant community-based groups to be engaged in the governance process and negatively affected the inclusive participation aspirations of GRMA. The study observed that time and financial constraints of participating posed significant challenge particularly the industry players, as well as the heavy reliance on their resources and skills. For example the community development planning officer in Newmont Ghana remarked that:

“My brother the process is time and resource demanding... The collaborative programme requires all participants to attend regular collaborative meetings and workshops to negotiate and develop plans and documents, followed by ongoing implementation and monitoring”.

The above quotation and observation suggest that the demands in GRMA were particularly strenuous as participants were expected to the wider consultations within the mining communities and their neighborhoods' and other relevant regional communities. My findings revealed lack of genuine inclusiveness in the GRMA programme. Many of the respondents interviewed reported under-representation of community based groups and citizens as well as other relevant environmental interest groups. For example, the study did not find any community based groups as well as environmental representative on the project team in the district.

Another significant deficiency with regards to participation finding and observation in this programme was lack of equality in terms of representativeness in participation. The representativeness of the participants was examined in terms of citizens, industry players,

government, environmental interests etc. and the distribution of power. Although, there was little detailed and reliable demographic data, respondents consistently reported to a range of affected stakeholders, especially community interests lacked representation. This observation was confirmed with the remarks from the interview with the DPO in Asutifi district. This was what he remarked:

“Yes though the programme pays special attention to sharing of diverse points of view especially during meetings and workshops, emphasis is placed on establishing starting points and common informational knowledge about the problems and its solutions. The lead organization takes into account existing interpersonal relationships, their basis, and how they were generated and developed for effective cordial cooperation process. When deadlocks problems arose in the negotiation process, the management teams try to find common ground between the positions of the conflicting interests”.

However, the criteria for determining membership based on selection have indicated inadequacy in the inclusiveness and the representative nature in GRMA. This negatively affected the performance of GRMA in terms of building long term robust multi-stakeholder commitments. Example is taken from the interview with DPO in WWDA:

“It is not simple for community-based groups to participate, because of the skills and other capacities requirements..... It is very difficult to get access to the process”.

A similar issue was raised by DPO in ADA:

“Yes my brother I can see a huge challenge in the selection procedure and this has affected the ways we communicate, cooperate, and interact to share information. The wider affected mining communities were largely left out”.

The above findings and discussion show that determination of membership in GRMA take into consideration skills and capacities of stakeholders’ as special requirement and consideration for participation. This made it hard for community based groups to be involved. Also, with regards to group representation, GRMA did not have environmental interests in the projects teams. These findings suggest signs of un-empowerment on the side of community members as they were just recipients rather than active participants in the decisions and implementation of programmes that affect their lives. This was seen to have some negative effects on GRMA performance in terms of engaging and involving all relevant and affected stakeholders in the governance process. There was little the GRMA could achieve because they fail to effectively combine professional expertise on the one hand, and local knowledge of the problems on the other as some previous studies and

theorists have espoused (see for example Froestad and Shearing, 2012; Sørensen and Torfing, 2009).

However, in broad terms the above findings and discussions do not suggest or claim that the PSUP programme had perfectly and fully captured all stakeholders and interests of the thousands of people affected in the slum areas. However, when compared to the experience of GRMA, the PSUP achieved considerable success in including and involving key affected and relevant state and non-state actors, as well as incorporating the ordinary slum dwellers and the women savings groups in the governance process.

5.2.2 Ways stakeholders seek to communicate, cooperate, and interact with wider communities

In the above sections I have discussed the determination of membership in PSUP and GRMA and how it affected the extent community-based groups and other relevant environmental interests could participate in different project phases. In this section, the discussion will be focus on the mechanisms of stakeholders seek to communicate, cooperate, and interact with wider communities which were found during field work.

A. Workshops and Meetings

Workshops and meetings was the most widely used means of interactions residents and stakeholders receive feedback, sharing information and discuss various issues. This study found that PSUP has regular formal meeting comprising NGO representatives, government officials and community residents in the slum communities. The workshops and meetings were held weekly, fortnightly, quarterly, and yearly.

This suggests that PSUP has wide array of regular meetings with community members. The main focus of PSUP is slum upgrading and they are working together on increasing the environmental standards and the general living conditions in slum communities mainly through local capacity building projects. To achieve their goal, PSUP has well-structured procedure of interaction with network stakeholders and the entire slum communities. Although not many community members participate in the monthly meetings. Moreover, management and project team members annually sit with community leaders to discuss various strategic matters in dealing with slums. The regular workshops and meetings were found to have provided good avenues for community-based groups and the entire communities to get in touch with the network activities and exchange their views with the officials.

GRMA also arrange monthly and quarterly meetings in the affected mining communities. During these meeting, stakeholders exchanged different information and discuss diverse topic including informal discussion like how to improve the socio-economic development in the communities. At the same time, community residents could express their personal opinion about GRMA's activities.

In meeting, USAID/Ghana Mission representative present various agenda that should cover different aspects of projects. I had the opportunity observed a couple of meetings and workshops where USAID representative already come up with a plan for projects and discuss mainly what will be the duties to obtain funding from government and other sources, how the industry representatives and district assemblies will implement the plan, give an orientation of the project. Inclusiveness of community-based groups and residents was absent in decision making and evaluation phase.

B. Training Sessions

I was informed that the objective of training was to inform beneficiaries and train various skills depending on the network's focus area. I observed in the PSUP programme that there are some 'Question and Answer' sessions where beneficiary slum communities can give their opinion to the Network body. This was lacking in the GRMA case where considerable number of my respondents loudly raised their voice and criticized various issues. In the PSUP programme, beneficiaries appreciate the Programme's various steps which deemed time worthy, well planned and showed success in implementation. These scenarios were more or less not applicable to the GRMA programme.

5.3 DELIBERATIONS

The extent of effectiveness in network governance is also dependent on the deliberation process in practice. As indicated in the theoretical chapter appropriate deliberations process play important role in building sustainable governance process. Appropriate deliberation process promotes the ability of governance networks to provide innovative solutions to the problems addressing. On the other hand inappropriate deliberations may hinder successful building of sustainable, coherent, and quality multi-stakeholder commitments and may reduce networks ability to address complex wicked problems facing the modern society.

On deliberations the study focused on two issues both related the decision making process within PSUP and GRMA. First, is concerned with clear rules that determine the decision-making process that operate in the networks. Second, is the extent to which the decision making is controlled by better resourced participants and how the decision making process? To what extent community

based groups and citizens were well placed to influence the decisions, and how these issues influence the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA. The findings and discussions on deliberations are based on these two variables for structured and clarity purposes.

5.3.1 Clear Rules that determine the Decision-Making Process

Adopting clear rules for decision making and discussion in undertaking the collaborative work is considered vital and essential if the network is to succeed. According to Holley et al (2013) it is often disastrous for network actors to operate with an unrealistic or unclear model for decision making, governance and accountability for key tasks. Based on this postulations this present study assumed clear rules that determine the decision-making process is essential for delivering concrete results.

It was found that in each project studied that, they have adopted clear rules for decision making and discussion in undertaking the collaborative works. Though I did not find any codified rules and regulations regulating the decision-making processes, based on the missions and visions of both PSUP and GRMA of generating as much agreement as possible about plans of actions to address the environmental issues, consensus decision-making approach² was found to be the common practice. I observed that in most cases participants contribute to a shared proposal and shape it into a decision that meets the concerns of all relevant stakeholders as much as possible. To confirm this observation, I took the opinion from the Executive Director of PD-Ghana and he stated that:

“We strive to reach the best possible decision for the group and all of its beneficiaries, rather than competing for personal preferences and aspirations”.

Particularly in the PSUP project many stakeholders’ especially community-based groups were afforded, as much as possible, equal input into the decision-making process. I was made aware through the interviews with respondents’ that all members have the opportunity to contribute to the deliberations compared to GRMA. It was discovered that the consensus-based approach positively affected participants’ relationships and enhance the ability of PSUP to cooperatively implement restoration projects to resolve the issues of slums more innovatively. The DPO in Asutifi district also revealed that:

² Consensus decision-making process is a kind of multi-stakeholder decision-making approach that tries to seek the consent of all participants.

“The GRMA seeks to include the input of all stakeholders since we believe that would results in better plans and proposal to address all the potential environmental concerns in the communities”.

One significant finding that needs worth noting in both programmes is that the consensus decision-making process has led to satisfactory level of better group relationships. The cooperative, consensus multi-stakeholder atmosphere was reported to have fostered greater group cohesion and interpersonal connection. My field experience showed that both PSUP and GRMA are practicing very organized and systematic consensus approach in carrying out each their project. Only the question is “is there equal influence from participants in the decision-making process”? Findings and discussion to this question has been provided in the next section.

5.3.2 Equal Influence from Participants in the Decision-Making Process

A. Findings from the PSUP Project

From the examination and analysis in this case it was found from the interview data that both PSUP adopted clear rules for decision making and discussions that foster consensus building and interest mediation. I noticed that most community members and community-based groups (beneficiaries) had strong influence in the decision making process in the decision making process. The local citizens were seen to be incorporated in the decision making process. It was discovered from the field that PSUP emphasized processes of mediation, negotiation, and other similar forms of cooperative decision making. Admittedly, the study did not find any specific and laid down criteria for deliberations in the MoU or any policy guidelines the local citizens (slum dwellers) empowerment goal the participants shared was found to have promoted fairness and shared decisions in the programme. My respondents consistently reported absence of zero-sum negotiations. The reason my respondents offered for realization of this aspiration was due to the free and informed agreement to shared plans of action.

The study findings confirmed that the shared responsibility for the success of the PSUP project led to effective planning and implementation of projects to improve the lives of the slum dwellers. Decision making and implementation were found to be highly decentralized, involving most or all network members interacting on a relatively equal basis in the process of governance. I was also made aware through my interactions with director of operations in PD-Ghana who doubles as a management team member of PSUP, that the designers and implementers first all realized that the success of the programme depends exclusively on the involvement and commitment of all and not only significant subset of the stakeholders that comprise the network. All the network stakeholders

are themselves responsible for managing internal relationships and operations as well as external relations with such groups as funders, government agencies, and local communities. This was summarized from his interview:

“In PSUP, stakeholders have shared responsibilities, it is the collectivity of participants themselves that make all the decisions and manage network activities. Power in our network for example regarding network-level decisions is more or less symmetrical, even though there are differences in organizational size, resource capabilities, and performance of individual stakeholders. There is no distinct, formal administrative entity with central authority, but administrative and coordination activities are performed by the management and project teams which involves representatives of the full network”.

The study also observed that there were presence of skilled mediators and negotiators in the decision making and workshop forums had largely mitigated these challenges of imbalances in power between the communities’ members and the industry players. I found that genuine and reasoned discussion among the participants had been fostered in plans development and implementation. This is a resident in Ga-Mashie community commented on the deliberation process in PSUP as follows:

“The PSUP programme seeks to generate widespread levels of participation and agreement. Community members are frequently consulted and involved in every process and our shared commitments and responsibilities have brought significant improvements in slum communities”.

The National president of NSUG also offered these comments regarding the deliberation process in PSUP:

“Let me say that participants are encouraged to keep the good of the whole group in mind, and each stakeholder’s preferences are allowed be voiced so that the group can incorporate all concerns into an emerging proposal. There hasn’t been any situation where individual stakeholder’s preferences obstructively impede the progress of the network”.

The PRO of GAMADA a stakeholder in the PSUP project also said that:

“The whole process of the group deliberation is inclusiveness and consensus building where we try as many stakeholders as possible are involved in group discussions and all participants are allowed a chance to contribute to the discussion based on the proposals. We aim to seek inputs from all interested stakeholders. We are together to address a

common problem, all input are considered so our deliberations is not associated with conflicts and self-aggrandizing interests bargaining stands from stakeholders”.

The above quotations from the respondents show that the programme designers were aware of the difficulties in ensuring fair and equal deliberation due to participants’ differences in resource and capacity. The findings show that the designers being aware of this sought government support in the areas of office assistance and funding to help local citizens and other non-governmental stakeholders gain legal, scientific, and other technical knowledge regarding slum upgrading. It was discovered that government support was played huge role in building local capacity. Interestingly, the decision rules that operate in PSUP fostered effective compromise, consensus and strong social ties among the stakeholders. This indicates that PSUP have been able to ensured that those actors’ gaining access to the networks are actually gaining influence in the planning, implementation, and evaluation process. My observations also indicate that the decision-making, target settings, consultations and monitoring as well as evaluation of projects were shared responsibility among the stakeholders. This shows that it became highly possible for local citizens and community-based groups to shape the deliberation process. Through my observations I found that the reason for the equal influence in the decision process stem from the fact that participants in the programme acted collectively and no single participating organizations or entity represents the network as a whole as in the case of GRMA. This positively impacted on the effectiveness of PSUP.

B. Findings from the GRMA Project

As indicated in the beginning the structural characteristics of GRMA was different from PSUP and that influence the deliberations process and the extent participants especially community members and community-based groups could influence the decision making process. The study found that though the decision making was highly decentralized but the difference between the two cases was that plans are formulated by and implemented through a lead organization (USAID-Ghana) who is also a network member. A contradictory observation was found in this case. The shared responsibility in decision making and implementation involved many or all network members in the PSUP programme, such decentralized, collective self-governance and influence was absent in GRMA programme. The findings indicate that all major network-level activities and key decisions were coordinated through and by a single participating member (the USAID-Ghana), acting as a lead organization network. I observed that the GRMA network was highly centralized though the deliberation process was brokered by USAID-Ghana. It was discovered from the interview that

though participants were often at the same negotiation table, many of my respondents reported that there were more problematic interaction between the participants.

The study findings revealed presence of power imbalances where local participants were found to provide little or influence in the decision making process. The USAID-Ghana acting as the lead organization provides administrative and coordination functions for the network and facilitates the activities of member organizations in their efforts to achieve network goals, which was closely aligned with the goals of all stakeholders. The USAID-Ghana acting as the lead organization funds the cost of network administration on its own, receive resource contributions from stakeholders, seek and control access to external funding through grants or government funding. The DDPO in WWDA has this to say on decision making:

“The decision making process had at times involved self-centered and conflict bargaining between the mining community members and the industry players..... This often arises from the asymmetrical power relations between the participants”.

This was similar to the response given by the District Development Planning officer in Asutifi district:

“I personally feel that the over-representation of representatives from the mining industries on the negotiation table have negatively influence the equal influence from all participants in decision making aspiration of the programme”.

A documentary review indicated that the fair and genuine fair and equal deliberations were lacking in this programme. The communities were manipulated and override by the mining industries. Echoing some of these frustrations with the problem of skills and technical knowledge, a local resident in Kenyase (a mining community in Asutifi district) remarked that:

“The consultations, decision-making, and plan writing activities were mainly responsibilities reserved for the governmental actors who were considered experts”.

The above quote suggests that it became highly impossible and a bit blow for the local residents to and other non-governmental participants to express their view points. The findings confirmed that many of the local residents felt they could not influence or drive the plans development process and instead were sitting back and watching the process. Unlike the PSUP programme where the local residents were found to dominate the decision-making process and play critical policing role to ensure that the programme meets the procedures and standards set in the PSUP policy and legal framework (i.e. the MoU) accordingly, my findings in GRMA revealed that governmental actors

and representatives of the mining industries have dominated the entire process. This meant that local residents were not provided with any opportunity for fair negotiations and cooperative discussions. As one respondent from Wassa remarked:

“Yes my brother some of the targets and plans have been really good to reduce land and soil pollution but then it gets down to the point that these plans and projects are written, implemented, and monitored by the bureaucrats without any local representatives”.

Additionally, the study discovered through the observations another deliberative problem that negatively affected the effectiveness of GRMA. It was found that the lead organization, USAID/Ghana and bureaucrats at the local government levels controlled the seed funding which meant that local residents could do to influence the process. I learnt from this case that local residents and most of the home-grown environmental interest groups did not possessed the necessary organizational skills and competencies required to negotiate. Throughout my observations in this programmes I found local residents and local environmental interests groups’ inability to directly engage with the mining companies on certain technical environmental issues.

The above findings and discussion suggest the pure and equal influence deliberative decision-making process where all stakeholders have equal access to the decision making process lacking in this programme. The findings found here indicate that local residents were left out in the decision making process in the GRMA project. These findings were contrary to the findings in PSUP where the programme sought the need to give the slum residents the chance to influence the design, determine and define the terms of implementation and monitoring of progress. This lack of flexibility in the GRMA project negatively affected its effectiveness. The findings revealed signs of un-empowerment on the part of local residents as the study did not find any activity that sought to enhance local capacity-building. The affected residents were rather found to comply with the decisions and help in the implementation of targets set by other participants. This makes them to be considered as only partial beneficiaries and recipients rather than exerting equal influence in the decision making process. On the broad terms, the genuine, equal and fair deliberative process was lacking in the programme and this negatively affected the effectiveness of the project.

5.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to present the picture of how the collaboration, participation, and deliberation processes have affected embedding good processes for building sustainable results in PSUP and GRMA Projects in Ghana. The chapter focused on understanding and assessing the first three key characteristics of network effectiveness namely; collaboration, participation, and deliberations. The studied network governance has shown that a network may be developed in a bottom-up manner or initiated by government agency/public agency. The common joint venture activity advises that getting the agreement and cooperation of all relevant actors' and the involvement of beneficiary communities in all phases with respect to participation. Consistent with previous studies, the cases I examined have indicated the significant importance of funding, positive incentives support either in cash or in kind like technical expertise, regulatory standards and logistics, and negative incentives such as community pressure in helping to induce or bring relevant actors' to cooperate.

Building trust through mutual respect and fair share to discussions, frequent interactions has great impact on building long-term multi-stakeholder commitment. All these contributed to the relative high collaborative levels in the governance process. Unlike PSUP, residents in communities affected by mining are treated as external stakeholders and have small voice in GRMA activities and direction. Though residents have the access to general information regarding projects and activities, their real involvements are seen in projects implementation phase. Access to strategic and in-depth information and having equal influence in the decision making and evaluation phase is very limited if not restrained entirely. So, these negatively affected the participation and genuine and deliberations in the GRMA project.

Another important finding is that the levels of formality and transparency have huge impact on accountability in network governance. The level of formality is relatively high in GRMA compared to PSUP. But on broad levels the depth of accountability in both cases is satisfactorily promising. In both cases, clear guidelines and mechanisms for distributing responsibilities and roles exist. Also, stakeholder oversight and guidelines for monitoring targets enhance the depth of accountability in both cases. But, GRMA lacks proper representation of community-based groups, adequate active role of affected mining communities in monitoring and evaluation of targets. Though it was reported the network managers engaged the residents in various public meetings, actual decision making power is laid in the hand of USAID/Ghana Mission, the mining industry officials and projects planners. The level of transparency was found fairly high in the PSUP project as compared to GRMA. This was as a result of the regular workshops, community meetings with formal agenda,

and official responding system to communities which were very low in the GRMA project. All these were observed to have facilitated in creating public platforms for explanations, discussion of opinion and views leading to the development of high accountability levels.

CHAPTER SIX: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS OF STUDY FINDINGS (Horizontal Accountability and Learning and Adaptation)

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes and discusses how two variables of the study (horizontal accountability and learning) affected the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA. The first section focuses on how horizontal accountability affected the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA. The second section focuses on how the learning orientations affected the extent of effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA. The findings aim to address the main research questions mentioned earlier.

6.1 HORIZONTAL ACCOUNTABILITY

As explained earlier in the theoretical chapter embedding good processes for building sustainable results in governance networks also depends on the accountability processes. In this study horizontal accountability was used to refer to the ways citizens have the ability, and are able to control the governance process. On horizontal accountability, the study focused on assessing three essential criteria for ensuring accountable governance. These included; clear distribution of responsibilities and roles, stakeholder oversight and predictability in decision-making process, and arenas for open discussions, arguments, demand for explanations and network responsiveness. As proposed earlier in the theoretical chapter, it is assumed that all these mechanisms have a positive effect on governance network legitimacy and accountability (Sørensen and Torfing, 2009). This assumption constitutes the foundation for evaluating and analyzing PSUP and GRMA accountability processes.

6.1.1 Clear Distribution of Roles and Responsibilities

The study examined the extent of transparency in the governance process. On clear distribution of roles and responsibilities, the study focused on assessing the extent of predictability in the governance process in terms of who is to be held responsible and do we know what they are doing in the process. In order to ensure sustainability of the good processes of governance networks and strengthened the network capacity to achieve desired outcomes, those governed need to know what the network is about, who is involved, and who it concerns. Based on this was aimed at assessing the extent A clear distribution and communication of responsibility of roles existed in PSUP and GRMA. In addition, predictable decision-making processes through procedures and or continuous

documentation which are expected to provide information to citizens regarding decisions, expectations and future actions were also assessed.

The study findings indicate that the PSUP case the distribution of roles and responsibility was hazy with respect to the slum upgrading project. All the project stakeholders had formal responsibility for all undertakings, but because of overlapping roles and agendas, the process was reported by the respondents not easy to follow and for people not directly held responsible in the network. The focused slum communities of the project were seen to be too large and those who engage in the programme often have a local or regional role and position. The Executive Director of GHAFUP reported that communication gap between the network managers and the wider communities with regards to the expectations made the process even harder to follow. This was remarked from the interview:

“Those elected politicians and public administrators and some other municipal executives had a double role in this process which was a good thing in some cases, but sometimes activities went a little bit too fast”.

The Deputy Executive Director of PD-Ghana also revealed that:

“The overlap of roles and the involvement of elected representatives in the network along with general positive political support for the programme, lack of transparency were essentially accepted by the majority of the stakeholders during the initial stages. However, this situation has become more problematic in recent years in the process when politicians and civil actors started to question the decisions that were made as well as the process”.

The above quotations suggest that PSUP had a formal distribution of responsibility of roles. However, in the responsibility was carried out in a rather unclear manner. In this case, there was a bias related to representation and responsibility, which made a confusing picture of who was to be held accountable. In terms of predictable decision-making process, the study found out that there were few clear procedures and little access to information and documentation of decision processes. I observed that open access to information was not a legal demand. Documentation routines and public access to relevant documents was found to be difficult even during the time of my observations. The assemblyman of Old Fadama made these comments to confirm my observations:

“My brother we normally raised questions concerning openness (i.e. public planning) of the infrastructural challenges concerning these slum communities, and political involvement in the process. Most of the planning activity related to the application of funds was carried out

through cooperation between the management and project teams, the municipalities, and a few consultations with the communities' members. These committees prepare proposals which are already thought through. You we get surprised and do not have the time to formulate counterarguments at all. It's hard to be critical in such a situation where a majority is saying move on".

The above quote suggests that there was no communication between the affected communities (beneficiary groups) and the PSUP secretariat at this point concerning clarifications or crosschecks. Still, most of the respondents claimed the strategies presented in the final report at times did not correspond to what they had discussed in the groups. The study found out that the lack of clear responsibilities also affected the routines and the procedures when making decisions and taking action. The network activities were reported to be quickly carried out, and it was hard to keep track of their next steps, which again affected the general network predictability. All these negatively affected the performance of PSUP since the decisions and policies that go on in PSUP were found to be very difficult to be made subject to public scrutiny due to the low degree of transparency in the governance process.

Compared to the GRMA project, the findings show that there were clear and stated distribution of roles and responsibilities in the GRMA process. The distribution of roles in GRMA was found to be clear and predictable. All actions and decisions led back to the management and project teams which had elected representative, the finance directors (public administrators) from the various municipalities, and representatives from the community-based groups. The mandate of the steering committee was quite clear, and they were expected to act in the spirit of the mutual understanding of the objectives of GRMA. I observed that, main strategies were established before the communities were involved. Procedures concerning the process were seen to be organized in an open and transparent manner. This is what the District Development Planning officer (from ADA) said in relation to this:

"The clear responsibility held by the management and project teams made the distribution of roles and responsibility indisputable. This was a necessary strategy in order to get as much input as possible and in order to gain trust concerning a regional and national cooperative strategy".

Documentation and information during the meetings and workshops according to the respondents was available to all stakeholders involved and for interested stakeholders. I was also informed that local and national newspapers covered and discussed the case during the process. I became aware

through the interviews and the observations that all group contributions were captured in reports to inform the management and project teams during the working process. Still, most of the respondents claimed the strategies presented in the final report corresponded to what they had discussed in the groups. This was captured from the interview with the community development manager of Gold Fields Ghana to confirm my observations:

“The reports functioned as tools to narrow down strategy areas for the next stakeholder meeting. The management and projects teams worked through all contributions and narrowed it down further to concise strategies and communicate back to the entire members for clarifications or crosschecks”.

The above findings indicate that formalization, openness and broad mobilization dominated the GRMA process. The findings show communicating clear roles and responsibility in addition to predictability through the process functioned as a means for increased accountability in the network. These positively influence the effectiveness of the GRMA network on the whole.

6.1.2 Stakeholder oversight and arenas for open discussions and demand for explanation

On this variable, the study assessed the extent open arenas for crosschecks, counters arguments and demands for explanation existed in PSUP and GRMA projects. The aim of examining this mechanism was to identify the possibility for network control and the permeability of diverse arguments.

In PSUP, I observed that there existed few arenas for actual input, suggestion and general contributions from the local citizens were established in the process. The PSUP as an organization was reported by community members to have kept a quite silent profile concerning the new projects that they are working on – in particular, details concerned planning and localization of the building and waste management projects in Ga Mashie and Old Fadama slum communities. The fact that I was informed PSUP had been operating on a very low administrative budget made extensive participation processes difficult to arrange. Another interesting observation that came out included polarized public discourse. The local and regional enthusiasm related to this project was tremendous but the limited public arenas where constructive counter-arguments could be deliberated, considered and taken into account were noticeably absent. The Executive Director of GHAFUP remarked this to confirm the observations I made:

“My brother, if you had a critical argument, you were easily put in those who work against the success of the network. This has really affected the public discourse in the process, because many actors are omitted and discourage to participate”

This quote suggests that the lack of deliberate arenas, combined with time pressures, resulted in low responsiveness from local citizens.

Compared to the GRMA case, the findings indicate that it has created an arena for democratic dialogue. I was informed by the respondents that the goal of the network was to establish a forum for discussing sustainable development and agree on a common strategic platform. I observed that all members of the management and projects teams (i.e. steering committee) had an additional agenda; they wanted this alliance to result in a common local economic development in the Asutifi and Wassa West districts. The study found out several forums functioned as arenas for discussions. Both the working groups were seen to consist of different actors related to the same project, but also the open conferences arranged represent such arenas. The GRMA secretariat administrating the process was seen to be considered as sensitive to the expression of the network members. According to the respondents the process was also communicated through web pages and newspapers for public scrutiny. The PRO remarked that:

“Our information dissemination has been enhanced by the opened public arenas which have created possibility for examinations and explanations during the process. At the end of every stakeholder meeting or workshop, any strategic plan decided was to be vetted for in all of the participating slum communities and the municipalities where the political discussion was carried out between elected representatives”.

The findings show that though results from these discussions varied at times, but the whole process was considered open and inclusive by the members. The discussions and diversity in arguments were reported to taken into account and affected the approved strategies carried out in the plan document. The broad inclusion of actors representing all kinds of stakeholders in the districts created an arena where responsiveness was executed between the actors. According to the District Development Planning officer of WWDA,

“These mechanisms of control legitimated the output and made the network and its members accountable for the outcome”.

The above quotations and discussions suggest that in the GRMA project, discussions and critical opinions among the broad group of participants during the process can be identified in the projects

planning documents. At the end of deliberations, each planned project was evaluated and vetted for by the district politicians and public administrators.

6.2 LEARNING AND ADAPTATION

Network effectiveness (embedding good processes for building sustainable results) as indicated earlier also depends on the accessibility and availability of innovative information know-how among the participants are of great importance. This is believed to enhance their capacity to monitor data on their progress and adapted to its management process. Based on this assumption the study examined the extent there has been sharing of experiences and transmission of information to enhance local capacity for problem solving. The study also focuses on understanding and assessing the extent stakeholder members have contributed over time to productive feedback loops that enable adjustments to propose actions in both programmes with the aim of finding out the extent the learning orientations in networks are central to their success. The observation and findings as well as the discussions from each case are elaborated below.

6.2.1 Guidelines to Learn from Monitoring and Evaluation of Targets

My findings indicate that PSUP has its monitoring and evaluation guidelines that focus on key program outcomes and outputs across Ga Mashie and Old Fadama where they work. The programme makes extensive investment in monitoring and evaluation. I discovered that PSUP conducts research, monitoring and evaluation of the ongoing programs on regular basis. A Project Team member I interviewed disclosed that:

“They have evaluation and audit team and they conduct their duties on regular basis. Besides, they have project team and budget teams and they communicate regularly with their field staff and communities to gather information about projects effectiveness, provide support to the slum communities, and highlight areas for future improvement”.

I found that PSUP use a variety of methods, such as surveys and interviews with key stakeholders, such and residents in the communities, to carry out their monitoring activities. The PSUP project was found to have built periodic monitoring and evaluations schemes to assess the results of the programmes. Also, the respondents’ indicated that stakeholders monitor each other’s activities in numerous ways, as was informed by the Director of Operations told. He confirmed that they run regular field visit aiming to ensure monitoring various projects are implemented as planned. They

also audit fund related activities. When I asked PSUP official whether they conduct any unexpected field visit, he responded in the following way:

“Actually we do not do that. There is no uninformed field visit since we have our team responsible for that and we also use different tools to authenticate the progress and genuineness of activities in the slum communities”.

The quotes above evidently indicate that PSUP uses various tools and formative documentation to monitor the progress of activities. I observed that they regularly visit and hold meetings in the communities to make sure everything going well, specially technical aspect of the upgrading program, though sudden visit was not found as the monitoring and evaluation team think that unexpected field visit is not important for their monitoring purpose since they have wide mechanisms of monitoring tools to serve the purpose.

Compared to GRMA Project, the findings indicate that there are effective learning orientations systems in programme that has enable it effectively adapting to its management process. This was learned from the interview responses where many my respondents confirmed that through the peer to peer exchanges among the stakeholders and the effective dialogue and relationship building have improved the network survival and growth. GRMA goes through more rigorous monitoring by its donor (USAID/Ghana Mission) and its representatives regularly comes to the mining communities to see if the target is reaching desirably.

The respondents from the programme claimed that they have well-structured evaluation and monitoring systems that helps them to guide the implementation of projects activities. However, the study did not find much about what actions contribute to their ability to learn from monitoring data on their progress and take measures against any uncooperative or poor performance stemming from negligence. When I asked my respondents questions to know about the typical measures, they almost gave a similar answer.

“We have not faced anything like this since we stated the collaborative project. We are implementing negotiated projects efficiently according to the project plans”.

The presented findings suggest that GRMA has various statutory support and mechanisms to enhance their capacity building through learning from monitoring data on the progress and adapted to its management process

6.2.2 Commitments to sharing information, experiences, ideas, and knowledge

The study findings show the PSUP project has fostered procedural requirements to promote access to information and sharing of experiences. I observed that access to novel information is provided by regular communication with other network members. The deliberative process in which arguments are exchanged and perceptions change through persuasion was seen to have contributed to the effective collective learning in the programme. The Executive Director of GAMADA remarked that:

“Through the regular interaction and communication of network actors, knowledge and information have transmitted among the actors. All network actors gain access to relevant information and other participants’ knowledge with relatively low effort as compared to a non-network situation”.

Similarly, the MDPO of AMA intimated the potential of the PSUP project in enhancing information transmission to build network actors’ capacity for future cooperation. He emphasized the significant impact of the genuine exchange of ideas and arguments regardless of societal power asymmetries in the PSUP project on collective learning. This was remarked from the interview:

“Through the intensive group interactions the PSUP as a whole have produced more creative ideas and solutions to resolve the environmental issues as compared to a situation in which the actors were reasoning by themselves alone to find solutions”.

A representative from PD-Ghana in the project team made me aware of how collective learning has impacted the sustainability of the governance process. According to him because of feedback loops in the network, the PSUP is capable of self-regulation and self-organization. The slum communities can learn from their mistakes, because the mistakes travel and come back along these feedback loops. The effect is that we can act differently since the communities have their own intelligence and their own learning capability. This was remarked from the interview”

“The PSUP focus on building and maintaining expertise in the communities and the selection and implementation of evidence-based programs, trustworthiness and learning from the evaluation reports coupled with our cultural competences has supported capacity building and sustainability of the PSUP programme”.

The above quotations show that the PSUP project see enough empirical evidence to convince them that changes must be adopted. Evidence was acquired through monitoring data on their progress. The findings indicate that the stakeholders are able to develop and review their common goals. Their adjustment strategies in the light of dynamism and build long-term relationships to avoid

culture of blame were so impressive. It was revealed through the findings that sufficient time has been provided for processes to work. The important observation here was that the effective learning orientation that existed in PSUP improved the overall performance. Many of the respondents claimed that they have gained clear understanding of the environmental problems and were able to critically evaluate their strengths and limitations of the approaches to plan interventions projects like the UESP and UPRP to deal with urban poverty and slum growth. The monitoring and evaluation standards for measuring progress on these projects were seen to have contributed to the adaptive capability of the network. The findings further revealed that the PSUP project had developed adequate and an improved structures in developing workable solutions to urban poverty and slum growth in a more reflexive and strategic manner to improve its sustainability.

Similarly, the study found strong commitment in the GRMA on the part of participants in disseminating and sharing knowledge. I observed that the learning orientations have been enhanced through the frequent intensive workshops and community meetings that are held. Through these open forum gatherings stakeholders attempt to identify interim indicators of success, prioritize actions, and pay more attention to the attributes of programmes and the institutional contexts that are essential to success. These have contributed in ensuring an evidence-driven process of strengthening the abilities of local individuals, partners, and the administrative structures to perform our core functions sustainably and to continue to improve performance and develop over time.

I also observed in the GRMA project that internal communication systems existed for sharing experiences. When I asked the DDPO of ADA about the extent local knowledge base of the residents in the resettlement communities are incorporated in the planning and implementation of interventions projects, he explained that the local knowledge base provide strong evidence for advocacy and influence in the governance process. The study also identified that the regular local exchange visits have proven to be cost-effective and culturally appropriate way of linking the elected representatives, public administrators' and the community members to share and exchange knowledge and skills. These regular exchange visits and the linkage between the resettlement communities were seen to have encouraged mutual and trustworthy interactions within the network. This was summarized from the interview with DDPO, ADA to confirm my observations:

"We have flexible structures in place to accommodate changes dictated by the dynamic nature of the participants and the environment. Exchange of ideas through negotiations and arguments has helped in the successful implementation of agreed restoration projects, and undertaking education and outreach projects and collection of data for monitoring the effects of actions taken".

The above quotations and discussions suggest that the learning orientation in GRMA comprised of range of tools and activities reinforcing one another rather than standalone activities. The findings have revealed that participants are able to learn effectively from monitoring data on their progress. Adapting to its management process was found to be adequate and impressive. The findings further confirmed that participants have developed proper channels to share experiences and learning between themselves and the wider community. In addition, the stakeholders' long-term involvement in the deliberation and negotiation processes was reported to have ensured the continuous search for demonstrable and implementable projects and plans to reduce the negative impacts of mining in the communities. These effective learning orientations were seen to have positively contributed to the sustainability of the good processes and their overall ability in addressing environmental issues in mining communities.

6.3 CONCLUSION

The findings and discussions presented above revealed both PSUP and GRMA Projects to a greater extent have ensured good processes being embedded for building sustainable results. However, in broad terms the PSUP project was more successful compared to GRMA. Several reasons accounted for the difference in performance. First, it was revealed in the PSUP programme that the process of bringing the parties together was initiated by public agencies but was professionally developed by specialist facilitators, and adequately resourced over a period of years. Though elected officials and or public administrators were engaged and involved in GRMA, time and other resource demands were found to be huge obstacle for participation.

Second, the findings revealed that training was provided in the principles of collaboration and attention was given to defining general shared interests, before getting into the details of specific actions in the PSUP project. This was found to be little if not totally absent in the GRMA project and this negatively affected its effectiveness. Third, it was found in the PSUP project that an inclusive process of review was established, allowing progress reports on outcomes to be undertaken in ways that take account of different perspectives on effectiveness unlike in GRMA where this inclusive appraisal process was absent.

On this basis, this study concludes that high levels of stakeholder support were expressed in the PSUP project compared to GRMA. More importantly, the study observed conditions in the slum communities were generally improved or maintained, for example, better regulation of building to protect habitats, reduced public waste, improved pollution control, social amenities such community

clinics and schools were under construction as well as improved stakeholder communications. All these important factors were found to significantly help in avoiding costs of litigation and stalemate in the governance process compared to the GRMA project.

The next chapter focuses on the summary and general conclusions from the study. The summary of the key findings will be presented. The chapter will attempt to explain the implications of the study to the analytical framework and the implications of the research for future study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the concluding chapter of the study and the main purpose here to present a brief summary of the study on the effectiveness of government networks in Ghana. The chapter revisits the research questions and assesses the study hypotheses based on the empirical findings. The implications of the study findings in relation to the analytical framework and emerging issues resulting from the study will be presented, and the implication of the study for future research will be followed. The final section is the general concluding remarks.

7.1 REVISITING THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE RELEVANCE OF THE THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

This study was carried out within the Network Governance theoretical approach. The study identified five (5) conditions that supposedly affect the effectiveness of governance networks. The framework focuses on the context and conditions in which we account for effective governance network. As indicated earlier in the introductory chapter, evaluating the effectiveness of governance networks is a complex and multifaceted task since it requires multi-layered and tested approaches. The main advantage of this approach is that it covers the broader conception of effectiveness in relation to governance networks. The network governance theory systematically provided an overall scenario of the conditions and context in which successful network governance can be achieved. I found two major usefulness of the framework when using it in the study. First, the framework provides a comprehensive definition of ‘effectiveness’ with regards to governance networks. Second, it provides comprehensive evaluation criteria for assessing the effectiveness of network-based governance arrangements.

The approach comprehensively covers network effectiveness in terms of a mix of process factors and the achievement of desired outcomes (e.g. providing greater benefits for citizens). It allowed for systematic qualitative information on stakeholder perceptions about the extent of progress, impediments to achieving objectives and actual progress in achieving desired outcomes to be used in addressing the research questions. The present study only covered the criteria of effectiveness (i.e. the sustainability of good processes). The study did not cover the second aspect of effectiveness (i.e. achievement of desired outcomes). The reason for not including this has been described in scope of the study (section- 1.5, page, 6).

Based on the theoretical approach and conceptual issues, the analytical framework of the study was drawn. The details of the analytical framework have been discussed under section 2.5 (thesis page: 33). Based on the study objective and the research questions, five (5) factors were identified to affect network effectiveness. These included; *collaboration, participation, deliberations, horizontal accountability, and learning and adaptation*. The background discussion of these variables has been discussed in section 2.2.2 (page: 25).

7.2 THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

The main purpose of the study was to understand and evaluate the network effectiveness. The fieldwork was carried out in Ghana and two projects have been compared. All the two projects selected for the analysis were based on the *policy focus, functional role, and key stakeholder participants*. Based on the study objective, the case study design was used as the main research strategy, and the research approach was exclusively qualitative using in-depth face-to-face interviews, observations, and wide range of document review. It is important to emphasize that the research locale, all cases and all respondents were purposefully selected because of the small sample size which does not permit random sampling. One main advantage of the purposeful sampling was that it enhanced the representativeness of the data. The fieldwork took place between June and August 2014. The key respondents were NGOs officials, elected officials and bureaucrats, residents in the beneficiary communities, and environmental experts. Structured open-ended questions were set for the respondents'. Consistent with most research, the ethical and confidentiality requirements of the social science research were strictly adhered to in this study. The anonymity of my respondents and the general description of their stakeholder categories in the networks were highly preserved. This was particularly done in order to safeguard and protect the rights of respondents and to ensure that no information was taken wrongly, so as to enhance the reliability and credibility of the study's findings.

7.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS

The study used five conditions in assessing extent of effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects in Ghana. The summary of the key study findings are linked to the empirical research questions; ***“What are the sources and mechanisms of governance network effectiveness”*** This central research question is related with what ‘effectiveness’ means in relation with governance networks and what criteria or denominator can that effectiveness be assessed; and the second question is concerned with the conditions or mechanisms that may affect this effectiveness. Based on these

research questions and their theoretical responses, the study formulated five hypotheses to verify by empirical findings.

7.3.1 Collaboration and Testing Hypothesis 1

H1: “Effective governance network depends on the network ability to motivate and activate the actors to participate in the processes”.

To promote effective collaboration and to improve the sustainability of the governance processes, it has been argued governance networks should be initiated and design in such a way that it provides in-kind incentive support such as funding and active government involvement to serve as motivation for other relevant stakeholders to collaborate. The existence of these factors may help reduce or offset the high transaction costs of collaborating. Like the PSUP, GRMA was also initiated and designed to provide motivation for relevant stakeholders to collaborate. Both networks encompassed representatives of local governments, environmental managers, agricultural and other business interests, environmental groups and citizen groups. These diverse stakeholder groups agreed, through a formal Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) (not legally binding), to support the principles, undertakings and projects included in the Agreement. The findings indicate that the approach in both cases rest on stakeholders agreeing to support each other’s views and exchange resources to demonstrate projects that meet the concerns of the disadvantaged populations.

To further harness institutional regulation, the study found out the active government steering role through providing funding and monitoring the progress of implemented projects was seen as an incentive enough to get affected and relevant participants to come to the collaborative table. However, it was observed that while direct legal regulations remained evident in both networks, the active role of government and other persuading mechanisms adopted by the designers in both cases offered a less costly and conflict-ridden environment for actors to come to the collaborative and deliberative table to discuss and negotiate for solutions to public problems. The findings revealed that both programmes have been able to foster a very sustained and successful collaborative process. And this was mainly attributed to the positive incentives that existed in both cases. At the moment the findings show both networks have been to capture all relevant and most affected stakeholders. Both cases having engaged all key affected stakeholders used effective trust and confidence building processes to further enhance the sustainability of the commitments. This was found in both cases to have set the ground for easy agreement on plan of action and policy targets to be implemented.

Further, study findings revealed the cooperative approaches and trust building that were embedded in both cases reduced the transaction cost of negotiating on feasible and implementable targets to address the various problems. Additionally, the existence of high level of trust among stakeholders shortened the time frame it took to negotiate and set targets and the implementation of these targets. This improved relationship between the stakeholders was observed to have facilitated almost unanimous agreement on plans. The findings show that the initiation and the design process of the PSUP and GRMA projects have brought about some level of commitment and awareness as well as sustained collaboration to address environmental issues. These findings suggest that those engaged stakeholders in the process had greater motivation to share information and other resources to make meaningful improvements in the communities other than symbolic commitment.

I can therefore confirm that both PSUP and GRMA projects at the moment have built strong, need-centered representative collaborative organizations that have the capacities to consolidate and use resources in the creation of new development options for safe, secure and decent shelter to improve the lives of the disadvantaged groups. The conclusion drawn from many of my respondents was that the active government steering roles, capacities, trust and confidence building processes positively affect the sustainability of the good processes. On the broad level, PSUP and GRMA process considered as robust and quality, an improved relationships among the stakeholders through the awareness the programme created was evident, which generated effective action due to the strong commitments and positive social relationships that have been embedded in both cases.

7.3.2 Participation and Testing Hypothesis 2

H2: *“The more inclusion and representation of affected and relevant stakeholders, the more governance network may be effective”.*

The study revealed that state and non-state actors, civic community organizations and interest groups were the dominant groups of participants in both PSUP and GRMA projects. Many of the respondents confirmed this through a report of genuine inclusiveness and representation of affected groups in the negotiation process. In addition to the satisfactory levels of inclusiveness, many of my respondents pointed out in both cases of frequent interactions through meetings, workshops, circulars, and report publications. Although there was little reliable and detailed demographic data of the study communities in both projects, equality in representation of groups proportionally balance in all the cases.

Also, both upward and downward interactions that existed in both cases positively affected the inclusive implementation and monitoring of targets. A third positive observation on participation in both cases was related to the ability to obtain a rough balance of all relevant and affected actors. It was observed that in the entire two network programmes there were significant representations outside the already active networked stakeholders. In addition to these positive observations, there was significant success in creating the awareness and the platform for local residents to hold duty bearers accountable through the frequent interactions that existed. For example, I observed in the PSUP case that most slum dwellers that had no previous connection to organized community groups or influence over any decision-making regarding slum upgrading and environmental standards were actively engaged and involved in the process.

This observation was similar in GRMA project. It has come out from this study that prior to the establishment of these networks, residents had little or no knowledge at all about any EPA regulations and standards, building permits requirements, noise limits and the responsible mining principles mining companies should observe. In conclusion, this study has confirmed that inclusiveness, capacity and skills building through frequent exchange of information and know-how among the stakeholders are of great importance to the success of governance networks. The same are management skills for operating such complex interaction processes. The findings from this study have confirmed the effectiveness of a governance network depends on the extent or degree of openness in the network i.e. degree of inclusiveness, effective balance in the diversity in opinions through frequent interactions.

7.3.3 Deliberations and Testing Hypothesis 3

H3: “The nature of decision-making does has a huge impact on the deliberative process in a governance network”.

The findings revealed that decisions were reached in both networks through consensus and compromise based negotiations. The study also observed that both PSUP and GRMA have adopted clear rules for decision making and discussion in undertaking the collaborative work. This finding is similar to arguments by Holley et al (2013) and Sørensen and Torfing (2009) it is often beneficial for joint ventures to operate with realistic or clear model for decision making, governance and accountabilities for key tasks. The existence of these clear and realistic decision-making guidelines was observed to be essential for PSUP and GRMA delivering concrete results. It was noted in the study that equal influence from participants were exerted in the decision-making process.

It has been revealed in both cases that, their decision-making processes had not being associated with conflicts and self-aggrandizing interests bargaining stands. Many of the respondents attributed this to the equal influence and the flexibility that have been embedded in the process. The fair and genuine deliberative governance principle in network governance was observed to have opened up and include all diverse interests and views irrespective of the resource capacity and know-how and this positively influence their effectiveness. One significant difference noted between the two governance networks was the nature of assigning tasks and responsibilities. It was observed in PSUP that an inclusive process of planning, implementation and review was established. Though citizens and community-based environmental and farming groups had influence over decisions making, they were seen actively involved in implementation and monitoring of these planned targets. The major part of management activities such as fund acquisition, decision-making, target writing, consultation and monitoring process were undertaken by the lead organization (USAID-Ghana).

There was no significant difference between the two networks with regards to flexibility. The study found those actors who gained access and were engaged in both programmes had actually become part of the networks and were gaining influence in the governance process. This was seen to have contributed to the adoption of a holistic approach in addressing environmental challenges. The study also found in both networks that it became highly possible for all stakeholders to equally influence the process. This confirms Holley et al (2013) and Sørensen and Torfing (2009) arguments that effectiveness of governance networks depends on adopting clear rules for decision making and discussion in undertaking the collaborative work. This study has shown that It is often critical for networks to operate with a realistic or clear model that ensures equal influence from participants in the decision making, governance and accountabilities for key tasks.

7.3.4 Horizontal Accountability and Testing Hypothesis 4

H4: “Effective governance network depends on the degree of formality and transparency”.

The study assessed accountability based on two criteria. These included; the existence of clear distribution of responsibilities and roles and stakeholder oversight through open arenas for discussions and demand for explanations. On the first criteria, it was found in PSUP that the distribution of roles and responsibility was hazy with respect to the slum upgrading project. All the network stakeholders had formal responsibility for all undertakings, but because of overlapping roles and agendas, it was reported by the respondents that the process was not easy to follow and for people not directly held responsible in the network. The findings suggest that PSUP had formal

distribution of responsibility of roles; however, these responsibilities were carried out in a rather unclear manner. The study found that the lack of clear responsibilities also affected the routines and the procedures when making decisions and taking action. These observations were different from the findings in the GRMA project. In this case it was observed that there were clear and stated distribution of roles and responsibilities in the GRMA process and the distribution of roles were reported to be clear and predictable. The procedures concerning the process were seen to be organized in an open and transparent manner compared to PSUP project. The findings suggest that formalization, openness and broad mobilization has a positive relationship with building transparent governance. The findings show communicating clear roles and responsibility in addition to predictability through the process increased accountability in the GRMA. On broad terms GRMA transparency process was more successful than that of PSUP.

On stakeholder oversight and arenas for open discussions, the study observed in the PSUP project that there existed few arenas for actual input, suggestion and general contributions from the local citizens were established in the process. The PSUP as an organization was reported by community members to have kept a quite silent profile concerning the new projects that they are working on – in particular, details concerned planning and localization of the building and waste management projects in the slum communities. The study found that this was partly caused by the low administrative budget that the programme operates on that has made extensive participation processes difficult to arrange. Another interesting observation that came out was the polarized nature of public discourse in PSUP. The study observed that local and regional enthusiasm related to the upgrading project was tremendous but the limited public arenas where constructive counter-arguments could be deliberated, considered and taken into account were noticeably absent.

These observations were significantly different from the findings in GRMA. The findings show that the arenas for democratic dialogue have been created in the governance process. The study observed that all members of the management and projects teams had an additional agenda; they wanted the alliance resulted in a common local economic development in the Asutifi and Wassa West districts. The findings from this case indicated that several forums functioned as arenas for discussions. Both the working groups were seen to consist of different actors related to the same project, but also the open conferences arranged represent such arenas. These open arenas for counter-arguments and crosschecks were observed to have improved the effectiveness of the GRMA project. My findings from this study provide support for the argument that the degree of

effectiveness of governance network depends on the extent of accountability in the governance process.

7.3.5 Learning and Adaptation and Testing Hypothesis 5

H5: “*The effectiveness of governance networks depends on networks ability to provide an access to innovative information and influence the way information is being processed*”.

The study found that the two governance networks had established guidance on the procedural requirements in line with their MoU to promote capacity building for future cooperation. It was noted that was cooperation among the various stakeholders and the sub-units in monitoring data on their progress of activities. The findings revealed that the effective co-ordination of activities concerning the implementation of projects, sharing of information, experiences, ideas, and technical expertise were responsible for the effective learning and adaptation in each of the networks. There were no significant differences between the two governance networks with regards to learning and adaptation. The study noted that significant insights into learning could be made because both cases sufficiently advanced to provide evidence for evaluation.

The findings reveal both PSUP and GRMA projects have shown added value of local knowledge of local residents. Also, the study findings show that continuous consultations and interactions between the projects implementers, evaluators and community-based groups ensured that the PSUP and GRMA as organization and the broader community are ready to actually commit their resources to address the identified policy problems. The findings show that governance networks recognized the importance of capacity building for future cooperation through learning. These learning findings in this study are in line with Holley et al (2013) findings in which participants learn from monitoring data on their progress to adapt to their management processes as well as through sharing of experiences to develop their capacity for continual cooperation. These learning processes were reported to have positively impacted on the adaptive, effective, and cost-effective planning and implementation of projects that achieves long-term results and benefit diverse stakeholders.

Table 4: Summary of Study Findings, with regards to the variables and research objective, and Comments on Hypothesis.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE NETWORK		
Independent Variable 1: Collaboration		
<p>Research Question 1: What are the conditions essential for possible cooperation in governance network?</p> <p>Hypothesis 1: “Effective governance network depends on the network ability to motivate and activate the actors to participate in the processes”.</p>		
OPERATIONALIZED BY	KEY FINDINGS	COMMENTS ON HYPOTHESIS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinions from respondents on their perspectives on how they did go about forming the networks Examining respondents’ perspectives on the mechanisms that reduced or minimized cooperative difficulties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both PSUP and GRMA projects were formed through bottom-up processes or initiated by a government or public agency Funding, positive incentives support either in cash or in kind like technical expertise, regulatory standards and logistics, and negative incentives such as community pressure help bring relevant actors’ to cooperate. Building trust through mutual respect and fair share to discussions, frequent interactions has great impact on building long-term multi-stakeholder commitment. 	<p>Establishing well secured funding sources and strengthening incentives systems induce relevant actors to cooperate. Also, trust building helps to link goals, missions, and objectives are crucial for network effectiveness.</p> <p>The study finding was consistent with the first hypothesis.</p>

Independent Variable 2: Participation

Research Question 2: What kinds and levels of participation necessary for effective governance process?

Hypothesis 2: “The more inclusion and representation of affected and relevant stakeholders, the more governance network may be effective”.

OPERATIONALIZED BY	KEY FINDINGS	COMMENTS ON HYPOTHESIS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Examining the determination of membership in the networks Ways stakeholders seek to communicate, cooperate, and interact with wider communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Determination of membership in PSUP and GRMA was through voluntary participation. Networks dynamics tend to affect representation of interests and the extent community-based groups and local residents could participate in the governance process. Interactions and communication in networks tend to occur in workshops, training programs, reports, meetings etc. 	The findings support the second hypothesis. The inclusion and involvement of relevant and affected interests and actors in the governance process provide wide range of skills, knowledge critical to resolve various tasks and issues at stake.

Independent Variable 3: Deliberations

Research Question 3: How and to what extent those better resourced and well placed participants such as elected officials and industry players influence the decision-making process?

Hypothesis 3: “The nature of decision-making does has a huge impact on the deliberative process in a governance network”.

OPERATIONALIZED BY	KEY FINDINGS	COMMENTS ON HYPOTHESIS

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examining respondents opinions on clear rules that determine the decision-making process that operates in the networks • Opinions from respondents with regards to equal influence from participants in the decision-making process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The findings reveal both PSUP and GRMA projects have adopted clear rules for decision making and discussion in undertaking the collaborative work. • Effective mechanisms in bridging and linking skills among the stakeholder groups. • Decisions rules that foster compromise, consensus, negotiations, and other similar forms of mediations were essential in producing concrete results • Differences in stakeholder resources, skills, capacity and knowledge do have impact on equal influence from participants. 	<p>Ineffective deliberative process affects network effectiveness. In this present study, the network with more structures and well-practiced mechanisms in bridging and linking skills among the stakeholder groups was more successful in achieving genuine deliberation. The more genuine exchange of experiences, ideas, and arguments regardless of power asymmetries produce more creative solutions to resolve environmental issues.</p> <p>The third formulated hypothesis of the study was justified by the findings.</p>
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Independent Variable 4: Horizontal Accountability

Research Question 4: To what extent the decisions and policies that go on in PSUP and GRMA projects are made subject to accountability?

Hypothesis 4: “Effective governance network depends on the degree of formality and transparency within the governance process”.

OPERATIONALIZED BY	KEY FINDINGS	COMMENTS ON HYPOTHESIS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examining respondents opinions on guidelines for clear distribution of responsibilities and roles • Opinions from respondents on the extent of stakeholder 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PSUP and GRMA projects have clear distribution and communication of responsibilities but it was hazily practiced in the PSUP project. 	<p>The study findings confirm the formulated hypothesis. If a governance network has good transparency mechanisms and adequate means of monitoring targets, the level of accountability</p>

oversight through arenas for open discussions and demands for explanation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PSUP and GRMA projects disseminate information in different ways like annual report, workshops, meeting, information and training session. • PSUP and GRMA projects tend have both predictable, formalized, and ad-hoc decision-making process depending on the network dynamics • PSUP and GRMA projects have arenas for open discussions and demands from public opinion. 	may be higher. Likewise, if governance network has open arenas for discussion, crosschecks, counterarguments, and demands for explanation, it may enhance permeability of diverse arguments to increase accountability. This means that transparency alone cannot deepen accountability and requires meeting other conditions.
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Independent 5: Learning and Adaptation

Research Question 5: How, when, and to what extent network stakeholders can gather, analyze, learn on information on their progress in practice?

Hypothesis 5: “The effectiveness of governance networks depends on networks ability to provide an access to innovative information and influence the way information is being processed”.

OPERATIONALIZED BY	KEY FINDINGS	COMMENTS ON HYPOTHESIS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessing guidelines that promote learning from monitoring and evaluation of activities • The opinions of respondents with regards to commitment to sharing experiences, ideas, and knowledge. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring and evaluation of targets provide elaborate guidelines to collective learning. • I studied two cases where I found that networks that have more effective information sharing policy tends to have strong ability to adjust to strategies in the 	<p>The findings support the claim that, Good dissemination and transmission of information are crucial preconditions for capacity building and mobilization of resources.</p> <p>Also, the findings have confirmed the assertion that, effective learning orientations help build reputation for greater influence in</p>

	<p>light of experience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was found the participants' were able to develop and review common goals in networks that were more resilient. 	<p>the future that would enable adjustment to proposed actions. This was well consistent with my fifth hypothesis of the study.</p>
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7.4 EMERGING ISSUES WITH REGARD TO THE STUDY FINDINGS

With regards to theoretical implications and emerging issues from the study, I sought to distil my insights from the findings by returning to the analytical framework. This study began with the pre-set hypotheses and one of the hypotheses of network failure was excessive penetration steering signals or politicians intervention to give the governance process direction. Findings from the study have revealed that the main problem was not the possibility to penetrate, rather lack of rules produce the stability needed. Network managers' main priority could be on aligning the perspectives of different kinds of stakeholder groups which may allow making good use of diverse skills to ensure network effectiveness. Based primarily on the analysis of the two projects, there is a positive relationship between network effectiveness and strong political leadership. Another finding from both cases clearly suggest networks can be more effective in situations where the state is decentered, becoming one of the collaborative actors with no privileges in terms of influence and power.

The strong political leadership exhibited in both projects clearly induced many important actors to be engaged and ensure implementation of restoration projects to improve the living conditions in slum communities and to reduce urban poverty in general. The findings revealed the intervention of the government in both projects gave the governance process direction some sort of leadership which was necessary to coordinate the involved stakeholders as well as to build the mutual trust necessary to stabilize the network. In this present study, it has been revealed that the strong political mandate exercised by the AMA, ADA, and WWDA facilitated in finding acceptable solutions to the environmental problems and to fund the strategies arising from joint efforts. One hypothesis may arise: political leadership is indispensable for network effectiveness. The challenge and big issue is which roles should the government retains and under which circumstances to ensure effective

governance network? Based on the findings from this present study, three crucial roles were found to be played by the government that facilitated the effectiveness of PSUP and GRMA projects. Based on the interview data, these roles are categorized into participatory incentives, design guidance, and enforcement capability.

- **Design Guidance:** The government through its stakeholders agencies and local government bodies (AMA, EPA, and Asutifi and Wassa West districts assemblies) were found in both cases to define and described the nature of the collaborative arrangements. Key issues such as who is eligible to participate, the issues to be addressed, geographical scale, funding arrangements and performance outcomes expected.
- **Participatory Incentives:** These agencies were found to be in the lead in providing incentives both positive (including various inducements discussed above) and negative incentives such as punitive measures for relevant and important actors to be engaged and participate in different forms.
- **Enforcement Capability:** Particularly the AMA and the various districts assemblies were active in fulfilling the enforcement role in ensuring that PSUP and GRMA projects deliver on their purported obligations.

Based on the above premise one would suggest and argue that the state is no longer relevant or but still its role has diminished, being replaced by network-based governance. In conclusion, all these imply that network-based governance is not a matter of substituting the network process for the government but rather a complementary approach. A situation which involves a shift from where the government takes broader responsibilities for both initiating and steering to one where the government becomes one of several equal actors playing important but different roles in negotiating for innovative solutions to complex environmental issues important to urban planning and sustainable development.

7.5 STUDY LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The qualitative case study research findings and conclusions have been criticized for often facing the challenge of empirical generalization. This study is not an exception with the obvious risks with sample such as mine, which consisted mainly of the active stakeholders in the selected networks. Indeed these active stakeholders may have exhibited a bias towards more favourable views of the success or value of the efforts these networks are making than that would be held by other, possibly equally well-informed stakeholders who decided not to cooperate, or even collaborated and left. However, conscious of this potential sample bias, the study sought to mitigate it through

triangulating ideas and opinions of different diverse respondents, as well as comparing the interview data with existing documentary evidence.

Despite these limitations, this present study has brought some insights into the conditions and contexts in which we can account for network effectiveness. This study has revealed how governance networks can be used as an instrument for complex addressing environmental issues. Hence, this study has provided insights to the governments and policy makers especially in developing countries about how they can make effective use of governance networks, and what the limitations are of relying on networks. It would be helpful if future empirical enquiries are to build on the findings of this study to explore the conditions under which public authorities through different kinds of meta-governance create frames and operating conditions for self-regulating governance networks and what are the democratic problems and potentials inherent in relying on network governance especially in developing countries context.

7.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main purpose of this study was to understand and assess governance network effectiveness with the view to identify the conditions and context in which we can determine success or failure of the process. The study findings have indicated a relative success in the PSUP project while progress is equally evident in the GRMA project as well. This present study explored a number of broad conditions and contexts relating to the future design of governance networks by revisiting the central research question that has grounded my research: ***“What are the sources and mechanisms of governance network effectiveness”***. The study sought to understand and assess network effectiveness based only on process measures. Specifically, effective governance network was determined in terms of sustainability of good process. The PSUP and GRMA projects in Ghana were used as case studies and the road to building successful governance process has been examined and assessed.

The findings from study concludes that building successful and effective governance network require significant investments and incentives (both positives and negatives) to reduce transaction costs for collaborating. This suggests that inadequacies in incentives and funding may cause fundamental failures in network-based governance. The study has also revealed that collaborative programmes will be more likely to succeed in cases where environmental issues and challenges to be addressed is severe and requires considerable expenditure. Related to that, the study has found the sustainability of the good processes of networks to be dependent on identifying, nurturing, creating and maintaining the governance capacities. This was evident in the GRMA project where

asymmetries in skills and technical expertise undermine deliberation. Government officials and industries representatives dominated the decision making process leaving the ill-informed and untrained local residents little chance to influence the process. This study emphasized the need of incorporating effective vertical and horizontal information exchange procedures to enhance accountability. As my findings revealed in the GRMA project, failure to share experience and knowledge between collaborative partners (horizontally), and between collaborative partners and agencies (vertically) negatively affected diffusion of innovation and missed the chances of improving accountability.

The study findings seem more consistent and also confirm the findings by other studies, e.g. Holley et al (2013) and Sørensen and Torfing (2011). The dynamics of the findings that emerged from both programmes have provided some understandings about the mechanisms and conditions which can make collaborative networks have greater impacts in addressing environmental issues and some insights on explaining the limited success of the GRMA project.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

General success and failures of the network alliance:

1. What would you say you are proudest of in the PSUP/GRMA projects?
2. What factors do you think may have contributed to these successes?
3. Have there been any difficulties or frustrations encountered during this governance initiative?
4. Please how would you comment on some of the causes of these difficulties or frustrations?
5. In your view, what are some of the ways do you think things could have been done differently to reduce or avoid some of these difficulties?

A: Collaboration

1. Please can you explain how did the stakeholders in the PSUP/GRMA project go about forming the network alliance?
2. In your view, were there any challenges during the formation stages?
3. In what way did factors such as trust, funding, and other incentives assist in the collaboration process? Was consensus also part of the process?
4. In your view, do you think the stakeholders are sufficient? If no, please can you comment on who is missing in the alliance?
5. In your view, do you think this network alliance is sustainable over the long period of time?
6. What factors do you think may facilitate or inhibit the alliance from being maintained?

B: Participation

1. Please can you comment on how the membership in the PSUP/GRMA project determined? (for example, through voluntary participation, government selection, or voting)
2. How would you describe the inclusive and the representative nature of this network alliance programme?
3. Are there any community-based groups participating in the network? And if so how would you describe what their roles have been? If not can you comment on what factors may have contributed to their absence?
4. Please are there some ways the PSUP/GRMA project seeks to communicate, cooperate, and interact with the wider communities in which they operate?

C: Deliberations

1. How would you comment on the decision-making process that operates in the project? (For example are decisions reached through compromise, negotiations, mediation, or voting).
2. How can you describe the equal influence from participants in the decision-making process?
3. Please can you describe some examples of this influence and the reasons for some of this influence?

D: Horizontal Accountability

1. Please can you explain and describe how targets and objectives were set?
2. In your opinion, are these targets adequate? In other words do you think these targets will lead to improving the living conditions of slum dwellers/making mining communities more healthy and prosperous?
3. How would you comment or describe the implementation so far about these targets? In your opinion has progress been on targets or behind? What factors could account for this?
4. How would you comment on how the monitoring of targets, actions, and general evaluation been going?
5. In your opinion, do you think the network actors check each other's behaviour?
6. How would you describe the effectiveness of the accountability arrangements in the network?
7. Please can you describe or comment on the role government play in this initiative?

E: Learning and Adaptation

1. To what extent do you think the stakeholders in the PSUP/GRMA project been able to learn from monitoring data on their progress and adapted to its management process?
2. In your view, what do you think are some of the factors contributing to this?
3. To what extent has there been sharing of experiences and learning between stakeholders in the alliance?

Appendix 2: Introduction/Recommendation Letter from Supervisor



UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN

Department of Administration and Organization Theory

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

To Whom It May Concern

This is to introduce **OSEI MISHARCH KWADWO** who is a student of mine. He is pursuing an MPhil degree in Public Administration at the Department of Administration and Organisation Theory, University of Bergen, Norway.

He is conducting the research on this topic in his home country Ghana.

Topic of his research: **"Do Networks really work? Evaluating the Effectiveness of Governance Networks in the context of Environmental Management: Analysis of Two Ghanaian Megaprojects"**

As an important part of this exercise he has to interview various persons and collect relevant documents for the analysis of the study problem. I hope you may assist him in the research. The information provided to him is for academic purposes only. Any assistance given to him is highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Associate Professor Jan Froestad
Supervisor

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Appendix 3: Invitation Letter

Dear Respondent,

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

With this letter, I would like to invite you to participate in the academic research project on **“Do Networks really work? Evaluating the Effectiveness of Governance Networks in the context of Environmental Management: Analysis of Two Ghanaian Megaprojects”**. This project is purely academic work in partial fulfillment for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in Public Administration at the Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway. The purpose of the study is to understand and assess governance network effectiveness in the context of environmental management in Ghana.

I am seeking detail information and ideas from your organization's involvement in the PSUP/GRMA Project(s) and your knowledge about the entire governance process in the network. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you choose not to be interviewed, you can withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. I really assure you that this research will adhere to ethical standards to protect your rights and privacy. Anonymity and confidentiality is highly guaranteed and assure you that the information given will be utilized only for academic purposes.

I am highly appreciative of your understanding and thanking you in anticipation of your cooperation and support.

Sincerely,



OSEI MISHARCH KWADWO

MPA Student

Department of Administration and Organization Theory,

University of Bergen, Norway

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